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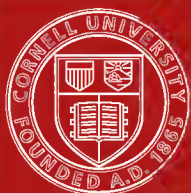
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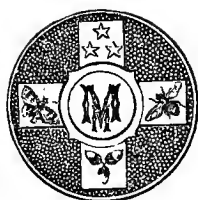


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SHAKESPEARE'S
PLUTARCH



SHAKESPEARE'S PLUTARCH

BEING

A SELECTION FROM
THE LIVES IN NORTH'S PLUTARCH
WHICH ILLUSTRATE SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

EDITED

*WITH A PREFACE, NOTES, INDEX OF NAMES,
AND GLOSSARIAL INDEX*

BY THE

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London:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1875

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CORNELIUS
UNIVERSITY

Cambridge:

**PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.**

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
TO THE READER (BY SIR THOMAS NORTH)	xxi
CHAPTER I.—THE LIFE OF <i>CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS</i>	1
CHAPTER II.—THE LIFE OF <i>JULIUS CÆSAR</i>	42
CHAPTER III.—THE LIFE OF <i>MARCUS BRUTUS</i>	105
CHAPTER IV.—THE LIFE OF <i>MARCUS ANTONIUS</i>	153
CHAPTER V.—THE LIFE OF <i>OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS</i>	230
CHAPTER VI.—EXTRACTS FROM THE LIFE OF <i>THESEUS</i>	278
CHAPTER VII.—EXTRACTS FROM THE LIFE OF <i>ALCIBIADES</i>	291
NOTES	305
INDEX OF NAMES	317
GLOSSARIAL INDEX	323

P R E F A C E.

THE object of this volume is twofold. First, to supply well-written biographies of a few of the most interesting of the "noble Romans;" and secondly, to place in the reader's hands so much of the text of North's Plutarch as is necessary for a due appreciation of the use made of that work by Shakespeare. Of all the forms of prose literature, biography is one of the most instructive and interesting; and, in particular, the biographies written by Plutarch have long been justly celebrated; so that, as a natural result, they have frequently been translated into various languages, and reprinted in various forms. But a special interest must always be attached to that particular version of them which came into the hands of Shakespeare, and from which he drew much of the material for some of the most celebrated of his plays. This version, called by Warton Shakespeare's "storehouse of learned history," was made by Sir Thomas North, second son of Edward, lord North, of Kirtling; see Warton's *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1871, IV. 202, 280. North did not, however, make his translation from the original Greek, or even from a Latin version; but from a French version by Jaques Amyot, bishop of Auxerre, who is said (notwithstanding the statement on North's title-page) to have followed the Latin text. As a strict and accurate version it may, accordingly, have been surpassed in some points by others extant in English, as for example, by the well-

known editions by John and William Langhorne, and by A. H. Clough; yet it has merits of its own which must not be hastily overlooked. In particular, it must be observed that the translation by Amyot was very faithful, spirited, and well executed; and, though North fell into some mistakes which Amyot had avoided, his English is especially good, racy, and well-expressed. He had the advantage of writing at a period when nervous and idiomatic English was well understood and commonly written; so that he constantly uses expressions which illustrate, in a very interesting manner, the language of our Authorised Version of the Bible. But whatever may be the occasional drawbacks of North's version on the score of inaccuracy, we know that it was his version, and no other, which Shakespeare used; it was from North, and no one else, that he imitated certain phrases, expressions, and characteristics so familiar to all readers, though very few know which those phrases are.

North's version was first published in folio, in 1579; his dedication to Queen Elizabeth being dated Jan. 6, and his address to the reader Jan. 24. A second edition appeared in 1595. I have not been so fortunate as to see a copy of the first edition, but am enabled to give the title-page of the second, which is as follows: THE LIVES | OF THE NOBLE GRE- | CIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED | TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED | PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER, | *Plutarke of Chæroneæ* : | Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMIOT, Abbot of Bello- | zane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuie counsell, and great | Amner of France, and out of French into English, by | *Thomas North*. [Device, an anchor supported by a hand issuing from a cloud, with two leaved sprays crossing each other behind it, and the motto—ANCHORA SPEI.] Imprinted at London by Richard Field for Bonham Norton. 1595.

The book was very popular, and was reprinted several times,

later editions appearing in 1603, 1612, 1631, 1656, and 1676. But, strange to say, the edition of 1676 is the latest noticed by Lowndes, and I doubt if the work has ever been reprinted since. This may, perhaps, be partly accounted for if we remember that a new translation, for which Dryden wrote a preface, appeared in 1683—6, and no doubt took its place, being frequently reprinted till supplanted in its turn by a superior translation by the two Langhornes in 1770. And thus it came to pass that the translation by North, long popular and much esteemed, was gradually pushed aside and fell into very unmerited neglect; a fate which seems all the harder when we observe that the translation which first supplanted it was a very indifferent performance.

But it is hardly necessary to observe that, in these days of fondness for Shakespeare's plays and for Shakespearian criticism, it is equally a duty and a privilege to take up North's volume once more, to select from it the most useful biographies, and to print these in a cheap, accessible, and convenient form: for it cannot be denied that the old folio editions are exceedingly cumbrous and unwieldy, containing, as they do, from 1100 to 1250 pages of large-sized paper.

The general contents of the first two editions, those of 1579 and 1595, are much the same; the latter running to 1173 pages, not including the "Table" or Index. But in 1603 a third edition was published, with a new paging and a quantity of additional matter. The same device and motto appear on the title-page, but the title is much longer, and runs as follows: "THE LIVES | OF THE NOBLE GRE- | CIANS AND ROMAINEs, COMPARED | TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED | PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER, | *Plutarke of Chæroneæ.* | Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMIOT Ab- | bot of *Bellozane*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, one of the *Kings priuie Counsell*, | and great Amner of France. VVith the liues of HANNIBAL and of SCIPIO | AFRICAN: translated out of

Latine into French by CHARLES | de l'ESCLVSE, and out of French into English, *By Sir Thomas North Knight.* | *Hereunto are also added the liues of Epaminondas, of Philip of Macedon, of Dionysius the elder, | tyrant of Sicilia, of Augustus Cæsar, of Plutarke, and of Seneca : with the liues of nine other | excellent Chieftaines of warre : collected out of Æmylius Probus, by | S. G. S. and Englished by the aforesaid Translator.* | [Device as before.] Imprinted at London by RICHARD FIELD | for IOHN NORTON. | 1603."

The paging runs on to p. 1103 (p. 1104 being blank), after which it begins again from p. 1 to p. 136, exclusive of the "Table" or Index. But in front of this second part of the book are inserted a couple of leaves (four pages), one of which bears a title-page, and the other contains a short preface, addressed by Sir Thomas North to Queen Elizabeth; proving that the book must have been at least nearly completed before her death on the 24th of March. The second title varies somewhat in expression from the former, running as follows: "The Lives of Epaminondas, of Philip of Macedon, of Dionysius the elder, and of Octavius Cæsar Augustus: collected out of good Authors. Also the liues of nine excellent Chieftaines of warre, taken out of Latin from Emylius Probus, by S. G. S. By whom also are added the liues of Plutarch and of Seneca: Gathered together, disposed, and enriched as the others. And now translated into English by Sir Thomas North Knight. [Device as before.] Imprinted at London by Richard Field. 1603."

In the short address to the Queen, North alludes to "this my second translation of the late addition of fifteen other lives unto those former in Plutarch, published for the benefit of my country." Hence, although we cannot perhaps tell who was meant by the initials "S. G. S.," we can see that the additional lives are from totally different sources, and that some of them are not copied

from any one author, but compiled from several. The lives of the "nine chieftains of war" are those of Miltiades, Pausanius, Thrasylus, Conon, Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, Datames, and Hamilcar; about which there is no difficulty, as they are simply taken from *Æmilius Probus*, an author better known to most of us by the name of *Cornelius Nepos*. But the life of Augustus, reprinted in this volume, is a compilation, and it is not easy to trace to what extent "S. G. S." altered his originals. In a passage, for example, where he professes to follow *Suetonius*, he does not follow him very exactly; for which reason, when North's English happens to be a little obscure, it is not always possible to understand it, because we do not know the precise wording of his original.

With regard to the other lives here printed, it is very different; for we can there always refer to the French version of *Amyot*, and thus trace out any error. A few instances of passages which are thus made clearer are given in the Notes.

The edition of 1603, just described, is not mentioned in *Lowndes*; but there is a copy of it in the Cambridge University Library, which I have consulted. The number of pages really amounts to 1244, exclusive of the Index; hence the fourth edition, that of 1612, is a reproduction of it, nearly page by page, the chief difference being merely in this matter of pagination, which was then rendered continuous, the last page being numbered 1244, as it should be. There is an excellent copy of it in the library of Christ's College, Cambridge, which has been of the utmost service to me, as I have had it constantly at hand.

The fifth edition is that of 1631, being in the main a reprint, page for page, of the fourth; and extending, accordingly, to 1244 pages, exclusive of the Index. A copy of this edition is in my own possession, and has been constantly consulted. There were later editions in 1656 and 1676, of inferior value; but these I

have not examined closely. All the editions are in folio, and form goodly but cumbrous volumes.

The text of the present edition is based upon the edition of 1612, which is exactly followed : but the whole has been collated, word by word, with the edition of 1631, and all the variations which I have observed between these two editions are recorded in the Notes. There is a passage in the Life of Antony, at p. 187, where the edition of 1612, generally much the better, breaks down, and where I have given the reading of the later edition instead, which has evidently been corrected by a reviser's hand. But in every case where the edition of 1612 has been departed from, notice is given *in the margin* as well as in the Notes ; so that the reader always knows exactly what he has in hand. Where any special difficulty has arisen, the edition of 1603 has also been consulted. My reasons for choosing this edition were as follows : The first edition I have not yet found anywhere ; the second edition (of which there is a copy in the British Museum) was practically inaccessible to me ; and between the third edition (1603) and the fourth (1612), I cannot find that there is much to choose. This being so, I purposely chose the edition of 1612, for a curious and sufficient reason. A copy of this very edition was presented to the Greenock Library in October, 1870, which is supposed to have been *the very copy* which was once in Shakespeare's own possession. The reasons which gave rise to this supposition may be found in an excellent little pamphlet upon the subject by Mr Allan Park Paton. At the head of the title-page of the volume there is written—"Vive :· ut Vivas :· W. S. :· pretiū 18s." Here the note "*pretium* 18s." would very well represent the original price of the book, as it happens to be known that the first edition of the same work, about 300 pages shorter, was 10s. 6*d*. The handwriting, it is said, may very well have been Shakespeare's ; and appears again in two other places. Opposite

the account of the death of Cæsar (see p. 101, l. 9 of this volume), is written, between brackets, in the margin, the remark—"Brute—Brutus;" and it is remarkable that the famous saying "Et tu, Brute" *does* appear in *Julius Cæsar*, III. 1. 77, but it is *not* to be found in Plutarch. The other note is opposite the expression—"the Ides of March" (see p. 98, l. 5 of this volume); against which is written, in the margin, the note—"March 15." Besides this, a great many passages are marked, most of these marks coming at the beginning of the book, viz. in the lives of Romulus, Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, Publicola, Themistocles, Camillus, Pericles, and Fabius Maximus, after which there are no more, except *seven* in the life of *Julius Cæsar*, *one* in that of Demosthenes, *three* in that of *Antony*, and *three* in that of *Brutus*. On the whole, since there are these few indications which fairly point to Shakespeare as having been the owner of the book, and as there is no argument whatever on the contrary side, it seems quite possible that the claim may be allowed; and there is thus a probability that the edition of 1612 is the one which Shakespeare actually bought for his own use, though he no doubt had become acquainted with 'North's Plutarch,' in an earlier edition, some years previously. Before 1612, there were three editions, any one of which would be equally likely to come under his notice; but he must certainly have first become acquainted with the work before 1603, because there is a clear allusion to it in one of his earlier plays, viz. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; compare Act II. Sc. 1. 75—80, with the Life of Theseus, containing the names *Perigouna* (see p. 279, l. 26), *Ægles* (see p. 284, l. 28), *Ariadne* (p. 283, l. 18), *Antiopa*, and *Hippolyta* (p. 288, ll. 2—4). Whether this play was written earlier than 1595, I leave to the investigation of the reader.

The present volume contains, then, the text of the 1612 edition; and the Notes give all the variations found in the edition.

of 1631, with a few readings from that of 1609. The spelling has been modernised throughout; but, in doing this, all the old forms that possess any philological interest have been preserved with the most jealous care. Such spellings as *drave* for *drove*, *wan* for *won*, *ile* for *isle*, *iland* for *island*, and the like, have been, of course, preserved; whilst spellings like *breake* for *break*, *beautifull* for *beautiful*, and the like, have been modernised. Some excellent remarks as to the principles upon which this process should be conducted will be found in Archbishop Trench's *English Past and Present*, ed. 1859, p. 253, footnote; the essence of his remarks being that all forms possessing historical interest ought to be retained. The best practical rule, however, is that an editor should make himself well acquainted with the history of the language, and then he will at once know whether a spelling is, or is not, of any particular importance. Thus the use of *iland* for *island* is very interesting, because it has the merit of being "correct;" for it represents the A. S. *ig-land*, whereas *island* is a corrupt form, due to confusion with *isle*. On the other hand, it is worth observing that North commonly makes the mistake of writing *ile* for *isle*; yet there are a very few passages in which the correct spelling *isle* may be found, as recorded in the Note to p. 259, l. 3, at the foot of p. 314.

All the words that are likely to occasion any difficulty are glossed in the margin. Besides this, a Glossarial Index has been added, which will, I trust, be found useful to the student of language. In this Index, full references have been given, wherein the former number refers to the page, and the latter to the *marginal number*; a plan which obviates the trouble of counting lines, and enables the reader to find the word instantaneously. I beg leave here to express the hope that glossarists will always in future *give the references*. The explanations of the words are comparatively of small value, for they may be wrong; but the reference is

a fact, and often, by supplying the context, is more satisfactory than any explanation. Besides which, such references often enable a reader to recover a passage which he wishes to read a second time. Glossaries without references are nearly worthless, because they are disappointing; and they frequently afford a glossarist opportunities for evading his work, or concealing his ignorance; but if the references are supplied, the reader has a fair chance of correcting all mistakes in the explanations, and is not obliged to take anything on trust, since he can examine the passages for himself. If the reading public will but insist on expecting references, evasive or incompetent editing would be considerably discouraged, to the great gain of all true students.

The marginal summaries, printed *in italics*, are copied from the original edition without any alteration except modernisation of the spelling. The use of them is twofold. In the first place, they supply an abstract of the story. In the second place, they will enable any one who wishes to refer to the old folio editions to find his place immediately without trouble, to the saving of his time.

The division of the Lives into paragraphs is merely arbitrary; I have not here followed any particular edition, but have merely divided each Life into convenient lengths. The Argument prefixed to each Chapter has corresponding numbers, so that any particular passage is easily found. The Index of Names is also intended to give assistance in the same search; thus the celebrated description of Cleopatra in her barge may be found by looking out the name "Cydnus," where the reference to p. 174 will be found at once.

The question of chief interest is, of course, this:—To what extent did Shakespeare make use of this work? The chief answer is, that his plays of *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra* are full of allusions to this book which I do not under-

take to point out. Many of them have been pointed out already, but I do not think the work has yet been fully accomplished; I hope the present edition may be of service to such as have leisure to perform it thoroughly. I will point out a couple of allusions merely by way of example. The very first sentence in Chapter I. is—"The house of the Martians at Rome was of the number of the Patricians, out of the which have sprung many noble personages, whereof Ancus Martius was one, King Numa's daughter's son, who was king of Rome after Tullus Hostilius." The parallel passage is—

"How youngly he began to serve his country,
How long continued, and what stock he springs of,
The noble house o' the Marcians, from whence came
That Ancus Martius, Numa's daughter's son,
Who, after great Hostilius, here was king," &c.

Cor. II. 3. 244.

The other instance I give to shew in how minute a point an agreement may be found. At p. 128 of this volume is the sentence—"condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number *Cicero was one.*" Compare the line—"By their proscriptions, *Cicero being one;*" *Ful. Cæsar, IV. 3. 178.*

I do not think Shakespeare made much use of the Life of Augustus; but it has been added for completeness' sake, Augustus being one of the Dramatis Personæ in two plays, viz. *Julius Cæsar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Besides which, the Life of Augustus is a very instructive one; it shews how much was accomplished by the extraordinary energy of one man. Though deeply stained with the cruelties of the age, there is much about him that is truly admirable; his successes, though less striking, were really more important than those of Julius, especially in such matters as pertained rather to a state of peace than to one of war. If his

Life is less lively reading than the rest, it is nevertheless more instructive, and will bear to be well pondered.

The passages relating to *Timon of Athens* are chiefly two; one at p. 215, sect. 38, in the Life of Antonius, and the other at p. 296, sect. 4, in the Life of Alcibiades. Alcibiades appears as a character in the play, but the speeches made by him do not seem to owe much to the Life. We see however how Shakespeare came by the names of Apemantus and Timandra.

The plays of *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* do not owe much to the Life of Theseus; but one clear allusion to the Life in the former play has already been pointed out at p. xiii.

Another question of interest is to determine whether Shakespeare made use of any 'Lives' not included in this volume. I shall endeavour to state here what I have been able to collect by way of answering the question.

I think Shakespeare may have taken the names of some of his Dramatis Personæ from North. The following are names of celebrated men whose Lives appear in North, and are also names of characters in the Plays; omitting, however, such as are too obvious to require mention. We find Lysander, Demetrius (*Mid. Nt. Dream*); Cleomenes, Dion (*Winter's Tale*); Lucullus, Flaminius (*Timon of Athens*); and Marcellus (*Hamlet*). We may also compare the name Camillo (*Winter's Tale*) with the fact that Plutarch gives the Life of Furius Camillus; whilst the name of Antigonus (in the same play) occurs in the present volume, at p. 184. Sempronius (*Timon of Athens*) is mentioned in the Life of Galba. Ventidius (*Timon of Athens*) is mentioned in the Life of Antonius; see p. 182. The name of Flavius (*Timon of Athens*) is also in the same Life; see p. 190. Lucilius (*T. of A.*) is in the Life of Brutus; see p. 149. Servilius (*T. of A.*) is also in the same Life; see p. 106. The rather uncommon name of Caphis (*Timon of*

Athens) occurs in the Life of Sylla. Philotas (in the same play) is possibly Philotas; see p. 177. Titus and Lucius (in the same) are, of course, common names; Hortensius is mentioned at p. 126, and Varro at p. 75. Cornelius (*Hamlet*) is in the Life of Cæsar; see p. 84. Claudius, or Clodius (*Hamlet*) is in the Life of Antonius; see p. 229. These instances are all, I think, deserving of notice.

With respect to the proposal of Brutus, that the conspirators should bathe their hands in Cæsar's blood (*J. C.* III. 1), Mr Paton observes that a mark occurs in the Greenock copy opposite a marginal title in the life of Publicola—"The confederacie confirmed with drinking of man's blood"; the passage in the text being—"After these two yong men had giuen their consent to be of the confederacie, and had spoken with the Aquilians, they all thought good to be bound one to another with a great and horrible oath, drinking the blood of a man, and shaking hands in his bowels whom they would sacrifice." Again, with respect to the words of Titus Lartius—"a soldier Even to Cato's wish," &c. (*Cor.* I. 4)—Mr Paton not only refers us to the passage printed in this volume (p. 7, l. 10 from bottom), but quotes, from the Life of Marcus Cato the Censor, the marginal title—"A grim looke giveth terror to the enemy"—and the passage—"So when he came to fight he would strike lustily, and neuer stirre foote nor giue back, and would look cruelly upon his enemy, and threaten him with a fearful and terrible voice; which he vsed himself, and wisely taught others to vse the like; for such countenances, sayd he, many times do feare [*i.e.* terrify] the enemies more than the sword ye offer them."

In the non-Roman plays, there is but little that calls for remark. There is mention of "Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia" in the *Merch. of Ven.* I. I. 166. Pompey appears in *Love's Labour Lost*, v. 2, in company with Alexander. The name of Hannibal,

whose Life is in Plutarch, occurs four times in the plays, as, e. g. "thou wicked Hannibal," *Meas. for Meas.* II. 1. In *Henry V.* IV. 1. 70, there is an allusion to Pompey's camp being well kept; with reference, perhaps, to a passage in the Life of Pompey, ed. 1612, p. 636, which is as follows. "Pompey, vnderstanding that his soldiers did kill diuers men in the high waies, he sealed vp all their swords, and whose seale soeuer was broken, he was well-fauouredly punished." There is an allusion to Pompey's death among "savage islanders," 2 *Hen. VI.* IV. 1. 137; but Plutarch relates his death in the usual manner, speaking only of Egyptians, not "islanders;" perhaps this word was suggested by the fact that he was killed as he was landing from a boat. In 1 *Hen. VI.* I. 2 there is an allusion to the ship "which Cæsar and his fortune bare at once"; see p. 77. In the Life of Cicero, there is a passage worth notice, in connection with his "speaking Greek;" *Ful. Cæsar*, I. 2. 281; and the remark of Brutus on his character; *J. C.* II. 1. 141. "And it is reported also, that Apollonius, wanting¹ the Latin tongue, he did pray Cicero for exercise sake to declame in Greeke. Cicero was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faults should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and euery man praised him one after another. Howbeit Apollonius, all the while Cicero spake, did neuer shew any glad countenance; and, when he had ended, he stayed² a great while, and said neuer a word. Cicero misliking withall, Apollonius at length said unto him; 'As for me, Cicero, I doe not onely praise thee, but more then³ that, I wonder at thee; and yet I am sorie for pore Grece, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely gifts and honours left us) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the Romaines.'

¹ lacking.² waited.³ than.

Now Cicero being very well-disposed to go with good hope to practise at Rome, he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was told him. For enquiring of the god Apollo Delphian, how he might do to winne fame and estimation, the Nunne Pythias answered him, he should obtaine it, so that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his own nature then¹ the opinion of the common people. Wherefore, when he came to Rome, at the first he proceeded very warily and discreetly, and did vnwillingly seek for any office; and, when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: for they commonly called him the ‘Grecian,’ and ‘scholer,’ which are two words which the artificers, and such base mechanicall² people at Rome, haue euer readie at their tongues end.” Life of Cicero, ed. 1612, p. 861.

The story of Alexander and Clitus is alluded to in *Henry V.* iv. 7. 41; no doubt Shakespeare had read it in North’s Plutarch, where it is told in the usual way, and at considerable length.

These are the principal points that occur to me, though it is possible that a few more passages might be found that deserve notice; yet it would require, perhaps, rather a close search to find them.

In conclusion, I beg leave to draw attention to the four excellent Lectures on “Plutarch, his Life, his Lives, and his Morals,” by Archbishop Trench, published by Mr Macmillan in 1873. The remarks on “Plutarch and Shakespeare” at pp. 51—60 are especially deserving of notice, and it is because the character of Plutarch and the morality of his writings are so well handled in that work, that I refrain from saying anything about them here.

I subjoin Sir Thomas North’s original Preface, as it stands in the edition of 1603, where it is repeated. It is dated 1579.

¹ than.

² working at a trade; Shakespeare adopted the word, perhaps from this passage, in *Julius Caesar*, I. i. 3. “Mechanical people” are artisans.

TO THE READER.

(BY SIR THOMAS NORTH.)

The profit of stories, and the praise of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amiot, in his epistle to the reader : so that I shall not need to make many words thereof. And indeed, if you will supply the defects of this translation with your own diligence and good understanding, you shall not need to trust him [i. e. Amiot]; you may prove yourselves, that there is no profane study better than Plutarch. All other learning is private, fitter for universities than cities, fuller of contemplation than experience, more commendable in students themselves than profitable unto others. Whereas stories¹ are fit for every place, reach to all persons, serve for all times, teach the living, revive the dead, so far excelling all other books as it is better to see learning in noblemen's lives, than to read it in philosophers' writings. Now, for the author, I will not deny but love may deceive me, for I must needs love him with whom I have taken so much pain²; but I believe I might be bold to affirm that he hath written the profitablest story of all authors. For all other were fain to take their matter as the fortune of the countries where they wrote fell out; but this man, being excellent in wit, in learning, and experience, hath chosen the special acts of the best persons, of the famousest nations of the world. But I will leave the judgment to yourselves. My only purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation with your own gentleness, and with the opinion of my diligence and good intent. And so I wish you all the profit of the book. Fare ye well. The four and twentieth day of January, 1579.

¹ histories, biographies ; hardly intended in the fullest modern sense.

² pains.

ERRATUM.

P. 70, l. 7, side-note 2. *For* passed not over, *read* cared not for.

SHAKESPEARE'S
PLUTARCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS.

1. *Family of the MARTIANS, and character of CAIUS MARTIUS.* 2. *He goes to the wars and is crowned with a garland of oaken boughs.* 3. *The Roman populace complain of the extremity of usury, and encamp on the holy hill.* 4. *MENENIUS AGRIPPA, by his fable of the belly and the members, pacifies the populace; tribunes of the people are chosen for the first time.* 5. *Siege of CORIOLI, and successful valour of CAIUS MARTIUS.* 6. *The people offer him the tenth part of the enemies' goods, which he refuses.* 7. *He is surnamed CORIOLANUS.* 8. *Sedition at Rome, by reason of famine.* 9. *CORIOLANUS offends the people.* 10. *Much corn brought to ROME. Speech of CORIOLANUS.* 11. *SICINIUS, the tribune, pronounces sentence of death upon CORIOLANUS, who defends himself.* 12. *He is sentenced to perpetual banishment.* 13. *He goes in disguise to ANTIUM, a city of the Volsces.* 14. *Vision of TITUS LATINUS. Origin of the word furcifer.* 15. *CORIOLANUS chosen general of the Volsces, jointly with TULLUS AUFIDIUS, against the Romans.* 16. *Successes of MARTIUS.* 17. *The Romans send to him to treat of peace.* 18. *Second embassy of the Romans to CORIOLANUS.* 19. *VOLUMNIA, his mother, expostulates with CORIOLANUS, who withdraws his army from ROME.* 20. *Building of the temple of FORTUNE.* 21. *TULLUS AUFIDIUS seeks to kill CORIOLANUS, who is murdered in the city of ANTIUM.* 22. *TULLUS AUFIDIUS is slain in battle.*

ARGUMENT.

1. THE house of the Martians at Rome was of the number of the Patricians, out of the which have sprung many noble personages, whereof Ancus Martius was one, King Numa's daughter's son, who was King of Rome after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same house were Publius and Quintus, who brought to Rome their best water they had, by conduits. Censorinus also came of that family, that was so surnamed, because the people had chosen him Censor twice. Through whose persuasion they made a law, that no man from thenceforth might require¹ or enjoy the Censorship twice. Caius Martius, whose life we intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought up under his mother a widow; who taught us by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discommodities² to a child, but doth

The family of the Martians.

Publius and Quintus Martius brought the water by conduits to Rome. Censorinus' law.

¹ ask for, be candidate for.

² disadvantages.

¹ whatever
is fitting.

² company.

³ labours.

⁴ modera-
tion.

*The benefit
of learning.*

⁵ restraint.

*What this
word Virtus
signifieth.*

⁶ hardship.

⁷ grappling,
wrestling.

⁸ throw.
⁹ contend.

¹⁰ sturdiness
of defence.

not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excel in virtue above the common sort: as they that are meanly born wrongfully do complain, that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought up, and taught that were meet¹. This man also is a good proof to confirm some men's opinions: That a rare and excellent wit, untaught, doth bring forth many good and evil things together: as a fat soil that lieth unmanured bringeth forth both herbs and weeds. For this Martius' natural wit and great heart did marvellously stir up his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other side, for lack of education, he was so choleric and impatient, that he would yield to no living creature: which made him churlish, uncivil, and altogether unfit for any man's conversation². Yet men marvelling much at his constancy, that he was never overcome with pleasure nor money, and how he would endure easily all manner of pains and travails³: thereupon they well liked and commended his stoutness and temperancy⁴. But for all that they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen useth to be with another in the city: his behaviour was so unpleasant to them by reason of a certain insolent and stern manner he had, which, because he was too lordly, was disliked. And to say truly, the greatest benefit that learning bringeth unto men is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compass⁵ and rule of reason, to be civil and courteous, and to like better the mean state than the higher. Now in those days, valiantness was honoured in Rome above all other virtues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of virtue itself, as including in that general name all other special virtues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin was as much as valiantness. But Martius being more inclined to the wars than any other gentleman of his time, began from his childhood to give himself to handle weapons, and daily did exercise himself therein: and he esteemed outward armour to no purpose, unless one were naturally armed within. Moreover he did so exercise his body to hardness⁶ and all kind of activity, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, and mighty in griping⁷, so that no man could ever cast⁸ him. Insomuch as those that would try masteries⁹ with him for strength and nimbleness, would say when they were overcome: that all was by reason of his natural strength and hardness of ward¹⁰, that never yielded to any pain or toil he took upon him.

2. The first time he went to the wars, being but a stripling, was when Tarquin surnamed the proud (that had been king of Rome, and was driven out for his pride, after many attempts made by sundry battles to come in again, wherein he was ever overcome) did come to Rome with all the aid of the Latins, and many other people of Italy: even as it were to set up his whole rest¹ upon a battle by them, who with a great and mighty army had undertaken to put him into his kingdom again, not so much to pleasure him, as to overthrow the power of the Romans, whose greatness they both feared and envied. In this battle, wherein were many hot and sharp encounters of either party², Martius valiantly fought in the sight of the Dictator: and a Roman soldier being thrown to the ground even hard by³ him, Martius straight bestrid him, and slew the enemy, with his own hands, that had before overthrown the Roman. Hereupon, after the battle was won, the Dictator did not forget so noble an act, and therefore first of all he crowned Martius with a garland of oaken boughs. For whosoever saveth the life of a Roman, it is a manner⁴ among them, to honour him with such a garland. This was, either because the law did this honour to the oak, in favour of the Arcadians, who by the oracle of Apollo were in old time called eaters of acorns: or else because the soldiers might easily in every place come by⁵ oaken boughs: or lastly, because they thought it very necessary, to give him that had saved a citizen's life, a crown of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated unto Jupiter, the patron and protector of cities, and thought amongst other wild trees to bring forth a profitable fruit, and of plants to be the strongest. Moreover, men at the first beginning did use acorns for their bread, and honey for their drink: and further, the oak did feed their beasts, and give them birds, by taking glue from the oaks, with the which they made bird-lime to catch silly birds. They say that Castor and Pollux appeared in this battle, and that incontinently⁶ after the battle, men saw them in the marketplace at Rome, all their horses being on a white foam: and they were the first that brought news of the victory, even in the same place where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honour of them, near unto the fountain. And this is the cause why the day of this victory (which was the fifteenth of July) is consecrated yet to this day unto Castor and Pollux. Moreover it is daily seen, that honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time, and before they have any great

*Coriolanus's
first going
to wars.*

¹ to rely
entirely.

² on both
sides.

³ quite close
beside.

*Coriolanus
crowned
with a gar-
land of
oaken
boughs.*
⁴ custom.

⁵ procure.

*The goodness
of the oak.*

⁶ immedi-
ately.

*Too sudden
honour in
youth kills.*

further desire of fame.
¹ straight-way.

² undertake.

³ regard.

Coriolanus' noble endeavour to continue well deserving.

⁴ endeavour-ed.

⁵ surpass.

⁶ others.

⁷ consideration.

⁸ always.

⁹ won.

Coriolanus and Epaminondas did both place their desire of honour alike.

¹⁰ would have been.

¹¹ delight.

¹² on that account.

The obedience of Coriolanus to his mother.

courage by nature, the desire to win more dieth straight¹ in them, which easily happeneth, the same having no deep root in them before. Where contrariwise, the first honour that valiant minds do come unto, doth quicken up their appetite, hasting them forward as with force of wind, to enterprise² things of high-deserving praise. For they esteem³ not to receive reward for service done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them do better in time to come : and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heels, not seeking to increase it still by like desert of worthy valiant deeds. This desire being bred in Martius, he strained⁴ still to pass⁵ himself in manliness : and being desirous to shew a daily increase of his valiantness, his noble service did still advance his fame, bringing in spoils upon spoils from the enemies. Whereupon, the captains that came afterwards (for envy of them that went before) did contend who should most honour him, and who should bear most honourable testimony of his valiantness. Insomuch as the Romans having many wars and battles in those days, Coriolanus was at them all : and there was not a battle fought, from whence he returned not with some reward of honour. And as for other⁶, the only respect⁷ that made them valiant, was that they hoped to have honour : but touching Martius, the only thing that made him to love honour was the joy he saw his mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him so happy and honourable, as that his mother might hear every body praise and commend him, that she might always see him return with a crown upon his head, and that she might still⁸ embrace him with tears running down her cheeks for joy : which desire they say Epaminondas did avow and confess to have been in him, as to think himself a most happy and blessed man, that his father and mother in their life time had seen the victory he wan⁹ in the plain of Leuctres. Now as for Epaminondas, he had this good hap, to have his father and mother living, to be partakers of his joy and prosperity : but Martius thinking all due to his mother, that had been¹⁰ also due to his father if he had lived, did not only content himself to rejoice¹¹ and honour her, but at her desire took a wife also, by whom he had two children, and yet never left his mother's house therefore¹².

3. Now he being grown to great credit and authority in Rome for his valiantness, it fortun'd there grew sedition in the city, because the Senate did favour the rich against the people,

who did complain of the sore oppression of usurers, of whom they borrowed money. For those that had little, were yet spoiled of that little they had by their creditors, for lack of ability to pay the usury: who offered their goods to be sold to them that would give most. And such as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold on, and they were made their bondmen, notwithstanding all the wounds and cuts they shewed, which they had received in many battles, fighting for defence of their country and commonwealth: of the which, the last war they made was against the Sabines, wherein they fought upon the promise the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreat¹ them more gently, and also upon the word of Marcus Valerius chief of the Senate, who, by authority of the council, and in the behalf of the rich, said they should perform that they had promised. But after that they had faithfully served in this last battle of all, where they overcame their enemies, seeing they were never a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would give no ear to them, but made as though they had forgotten the former promise, and suffered them to be made slaves and bondmen to their creditors, and besides, to be turned out of all that ever they had: they fell then even to flat rebellion and mutiny, and to stir up dangerous tumults within the city. The Romans' enemies hearing of this rebellion, did straight enter the territories of Rome with a marvellous great power², spoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediately made open proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all those that were of lawful age to carry weapon, should come and enter their names into the muster-master's book, to go to the wars: but no man obeyed their commandment. Whereupon their chief magistrates and many of the Senate began to be of divers opinions among themselves. For some thought it was reason³, they should somewhat yield to the poor people's request, and that they should a little qualify the severity of the law. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was Martius for one. For he alleged, that the creditors' losing their money they had lent was not the worst thing that was herein: but that the lenity that was favoured was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proud attempt of the communalty was, to abolish law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he said, if the Senate were wise, they should betimes prevent⁴ and quench this ill-favoured and worse meant beginning. The Senate met many days in consultation

*Extremity
of usury
complained
of at Rome
by the people.*

¹ treat.

*Counsellors'
promises
make men
valiant, in
hope of just
performance.*

*Ingratitude
and good
service un-
rewarded,
provoketh
rebellion.*

² army.

³ reasonable

*Martius
Coriolanus
against the
people.*

⁴ would at
once antici-
pate.

*The people
leave the
city and do
go to the
Holy Hill.*
¹ decided
upon.

² themselves.

*An excellent
tale told by
Menenius
Agrippa to
pacify the
people.*
³ alone.
⁴ laboriously.
⁵ anxious.

⁶ thoroughly.

⁷ general
advantage.

*The first
beginning
of Tribuni
plebis.*

*Junius Bru-
tus, Sicinius
Vellutus, the
two first
Tribunes.*
⁸ alone had
been.
⁹ promoters.

about it : but in the end they concluded¹ nothing. The poor common people, seeing no redress, gathered themselves one day together ; and one encouraging another, they all forsook the city, and encamped themselves upon a hill, called at that day the Holy Hill, along the river of Tiber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or making any shew of actual rebellion, saving that they cried as they went up and down, that the rich men had driven them out of the city, and that throughout all Italy they might find air, water, and ground to bury them² in. Moreover, they said, to dwell at Rome was nothing else but to be slain, or hurt with continual wars and fighting, for defence of the rich men's goods.

4. The Senate, being afraid of their departure, did send unto them certain of the pleasantest old men, and the most acceptable to the people among them. Of those Menenius Agrippa was he, who was sent for chief man of the message from the Senate. He, after many good persuasions and gentle requests made to the people, on the behalf of the Senate, knit up his oration in the end with a notable tale, in this manner : That "on a time all the members of man's body did rebel against the belly, complaining of it, that it only³ remained in the midst of the body without doing any thing, neither did bear any labour to the maintenance of the rest : whereas all other parts and members did labour painfully⁴, and were very careful⁵, to satisfy the appetites and desires of the body. And so the belly, all this notwithstanding, laughed at their folly, and said : It is true, I first receive all meats that nourish man's body : but afterwards I send it again to the nourishment of other parts of the same. Even so (quoth he) O you, my masters, and citizens of Rome, the reason is alike between the Senate and you. For matters being well digested, and their counsels thoroughly⁶ examined, touching the benefit of the commonwealth, the Senators are cause of the common commodity⁷ that cometh unto every one of you." These persuasions pacified the people conditionally, that the Senate would grant there should be yearly chosen five Magistrates, which they now call Tribuni plebis, whose office should be to defend the poor people from violence and oppression. So Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus were the first tribunes of the people that were chosen, who had only been⁸ the causers and procurers⁹ of this sedition. Hereupon, the city being grown again to good quiet and unity, the people immediately went to the wars, shewing that they had a good will to do better than ever

they did, and to be very willing to obey the Magistrates in that they would command concerning the wars.

5. Martius also, though it liked him nothing¹ to see the greatness of the people thus increased, considering it was to the prejudice and imbasement² of the Nobility, and also saw that other noble Patricians were troubled as well as himself: he did persuade the Patricians, to shew themselves no less forward and willing to fight for their country than the common people were: and to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not so much pass³ the people in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true nobility and valiantness. In the country of the Volscs, against whom the Romans made war at that time, there was a principal city and of most fame, that was called Corioles, before the which the Consul Cominius did lay siege. Wherefore all the other Volscs, fearing lest that city should be taken by assault, they came from all parts of the country to save it, intending to give the Romans battle before the city, and to give an onset on them in two several⁴ places. The Consul Cominius understanding this, divided his army also into two parts; and taking the one part with himself, he marched towards them that were drawing to the city out of the country: and the other part of his army he left in the camp with Titus Lartius⁵ (one of the valiantest men the Romans had at that time) to resist those that would make any sally out of the city upon them. So the Coriolans, making small account of them that lay in camp before the city, made a sally out upon them, in the which at the first the Coriolans had the better, and drove⁶ the Romans back again into the trenches of their camp. But Martius being there at that time, running out of the camp with a few men with him, he slew the first enemies he met withal, and made the rest of them stay⁷ upon the sudden, crying out to the Romans that had turned their backs, and calling them again to fight with a loud voice. For he was even such another, as Cato would have a soldier and a captain to be, not only terrible and fierce to lay about him, but to make the enemy afraid⁸ with the sound of his voice, and grimness of his countenance. Then there flocked about him immediately a great number of Romans: whereat the enemies were so afraid⁸, that they gave back presently⁹. But Martius, not staying so, did chase and follow them to their own gates, that fled for life. And there perceiving that the Romans retired back, for the great number of darts and arrows which flew about their ears from the walls of the

¹ did not at all please him.
² humiliation.

³ surpass.

The city of Corioles besieged by the Consul Cominius.

⁴ different.

Titus Lartius, a valiant Roman.
⁵ Lartius.

⁶ drove.

⁷ halt.

The property of a soldier.

⁸ afraid.

⁹ retreated at once.

city, and that there was not one man amongst them that durst venture himself to follow the flying enemies into their city, for that it was full of men of war very well armed and appointed, he did encourage his fellows with words and deeds, crying out to them, "that fortune had opened the gates of the city, more for the followers than the fliers." But all this notwithstanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit Martius, being in the throng amongst the enemies, thrust himself into the gates of the city, and entered the same among them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turn their face upon him, or offer¹ to stay² him. But he, looking about him, and seeing he was entered the city with very few men to help him, and perceiving he was environed by his enemies that gathered round about to set upon him, did things, as it is written, wonderful and incredible, as well for the force of his hand, as also for the agility of his body; and with a wonderful courage and valiantness he made a lane through the midst of them, and overthrew also those he laid at³: that some he made run to the furthest part of the city, and other for fear he made yield themselves, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this means Martius, that was gotten out, had some leisure to bring the Romans with more safety into the city. The city being taken in this sort, the most part of the soldiers began incontinently⁴ to spoil, to carry away, and to look up⁵ the booty they had won. But Martius was marvellous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to look after spoil, and to run straggling here and there to enrich themselves, whilst the other Consul and their fellow-citizens peradventure were fighting with their enemies: and how that, leaving the spoil, they should seek to wind themselves out of danger and peril. Howbeit, cry and say to them what he could, very few of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered themselves to follow him, he went out of the city, and took his way toward that part where he understood the rest of the army was, exhorting and intreating them by the way that followed him, not to be fainthearted; and oft holding up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he might come in time to the battle, and in a good hour⁶ to hazard his life in defence of his countrymen. Now the Romans when they were put in battle ray⁷, and ready to take their targets⁸ on their arms, and to gird them upon their arming-coats⁹, had a custom to make their wills at that very instant, without

¹ attempt.
² stop.

³ attacked.

*The city of
Corioles
taken.*
⁴ straight-
way.
⁵ collect.

⁶ in good
time.

⁷ array.

⁸ shields.
⁹ armour.

any manner of writing, naming him only whom they would make their heir in the presence of three or four witnesses. Martius came just to that reckoning, whilst the soldiers were doing after that sort, and that the enemies were approached so near, as one stood in view of the other. When they saw him at his first coming all bloody, and in a sweat, and but with a few men following him, some thereupon began to be afeard¹. But soon after, when they saw him run with a lively cheer to the Consul, and to take him by the hand, declaring how he had taken the city of Corioles, and that they saw the Consul Cominius also kiss and imbrace² him, then there was not a man but took heart again to him, and began to be of good courage; some hearing him report, from point to point, the happy success of this exploit, and other also conjecturing it by seeing their gestures afar off. Then they all began to call upon the Consul to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to give charge upon the enemy. Martius asked him how the order of their enemy's battle was, and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The Consul made him answer, that he thought the bands which were in the vaward³ of their battle were those of the Antiates, whom they esteemed to be the warlike⁴ men, and which, for valiant courage, would give no place⁵ to any of the host of their enemies. Then prayed Martius to be set directly against them. The Consul granted him, greatly praising his courage. Then Martius, when both armies came almost to join, advanced himself a good space before his company, and went so fiercely to give charge on the vaward³ that came right against him, that they could stand no longer in his hands: he made such a lane through them, and opened a passage into the battle⁶ of the enemies. But the two wings of either side turned one to the other, to compass him in between them: which the Consul Cominius perceiving, he sent thither straight of⁷ the best soldiers he had about him. So the battle was marvellous bloody about Martius, and in a very short space many were slain in the place. But in the end the Romans were so strong, that they distressed the enemies, and brake their array: and scattering them, made them fly. Then they prayed Martius that he would retire to the camp, because they saw he was able to do no more, he was already so wearied with the great pain he had taken⁸, and so faint with the great wounds he had upon him. But Martius answered them, that it was not for conquerors to yield, nor to be fainthearted: and thereupon began afresh to chase those

Soldiers' testaments.

¹ afraid.

² embrace.

³ vanguard.

⁴ most warlike.

⁵ not yield.

By Coriolanus' means, the Volsces were overcome in battle.

⁶ battalion.

⁷ some of.

⁸ effort he had made.

that fled, until such time as the army of the enemies was utterly overthrown, and numbers of them slain and taken prisoners.

6. The next morning betimes, Martius went to the Consul, and the other Romans with him. There the Consul Cominius going up to his chair of state, in the presence of the whole army, gave thanks to the gods for so great, glorious, and prosperous a victory: then he spake to Martius, whose valiantness he commended beyond the moon, both for that he himself saw him do with his eyes, as also for that Martius had reported unto him. So in the end he willed¹ Martius, that he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies, and of all their goods they had won (whereof there was great store) ten of every sort which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gave him, in testimony² that he had won that day the price³ of prowess above all other, a goodly horse with a caparison⁴, and all furniture⁵ to him: which the whole army beholding, did marvellously praise and commend. But Martius, stepping forth, told the Consul he most thankfully accepted the gift of his horse, and was a glad man besides, that his service had deserved his General's commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenary reward than a honourable recompence, he would have none of it, but was contented to have his equal part with the other soldiers. "Only, this grace⁶ (said he) I crave and beseech you to grant me. Among the Volsces there is an old friend and host of mine, an honest wealthy man, and now a prisoner; who, living before in great wealth in his own country, liveth now a poor prisoner, in the hands of his enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his misery and misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could save him from this one danger, to keep him from being sold as a slave." The soldiers hearing Martius' words, made a marvellous great shout among them, and there were more that wondered at his great contentation⁷ and abstinence, when they saw so little covetousness in him, than they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantness. For even they themselves that did somewhat malice⁸ and envy his glory, to see him thus honoured and passingly⁹ praised, did think him so much the more worthy of an honourable recompence for his valiant service, as the more carelessly he refused the great offer made unto him for his profit; and they esteemed more the virtue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, than that which made them to be offered to him, as unto

¹ desired.
The tenth part of the enemies' goods offered Martius for reward of his service, by Cominius the Consul.

Valiancy rewarded with honour in the field.

Martius' noble answer and refusal.
² witness.
³ prize.
⁴ trappings.
⁵ equipments.
⁶ favour.

⁷ moderation.

⁸ begrudge.

⁹ exceedingly.

a worthy person. For it is far more commendable, to use riches well, than to be valiant: and yet it is better not to desire them than to use them well.

7. After this shout and noise of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consul Cominius began to speak in this sort: "we cannot compel Martius to take these gifts we offer him if he will not receive them, but we will give him such a reward for the noble service he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, unless his valiant acts have won him that name before our nomination." And so ever since, he still bare¹ the third name of Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the Romans have, as Caius, was as our Christian name now. The second, as Martius, was the name of the house and family they came of. The third was some addition given, either for some act or notable service, or for some mark on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some special virtue they had. Even so did the Grecians in old time give additions² to princes, by reason of some notable act worthy³ memory. As when they have called some Soter and Callinicos, as much to say as saviour and conqueror. Or else of some notable apparent mark on one's face, or on his body, they have called him Phiscon and Grypos: as ye would say, gore-belly⁴, and hook-nosed; or else for some virtue, as Euergetes and Philadelphes, to wit, a benefactor, and lover of his brethren. Orotherwise for one's great felicity, as Eudæmon: as much to say as fortunate. For so was the second of the Battes* surnamed. And some kings have had surnames of jest and mockery. As one of the Antigones that was called Dason, to say, the Giver: who was ever promising, and never giving. And one of the Ptolomees was called Lamyros: to say, conceitive⁵. The Romans use⁶, more than any other nation, to give names of mockery in this sort. As, there was one Metellus, surnamed Diadematus, the banded, because he carried a band about his head of long time⁷, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his own family was called Celer, the quick-fly, because a few days after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruel fight of fencers at unrebated⁸ swords, which they found wonderful for the shortness of time. Other had their surnames derived of some accident at their birth. As to this day they call him Procleus, that is born, his father being in some far voyage: and him Posthumus, that is born after the death of his father. And

*Martius
surnamed
Coriolanus
by the Con-
sul.*

¹ bore.
*How the
Romans
came to have
three names.*

*Why the
Grecians
gave kings
surnames.*

² titles.
³ deserving.

⁴ fat-paunch.

** These were
the princes
that built
the city of
Cyrene.*

*Names of
mockery
among the
Romans.*
⁵ whimsical.
⁶ are wont.
⁷ for a long
time.

⁸ unblunted.

when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other surviveth, they call the survivor Vopiscus. Sometime also they give surnames derived of some mark or misfortune of the body: as Sylla, to say, crook-nosed: Niger, black: Rufus, red: Cæcus, blind: Claudus, lame. They did wisely in this thing to accustom men to think, that neither the loss of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace unto them; but the manner was to answer boldly to such names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories than this.

8. Now when this war was ended, the flatterers of the people began to stir up sedition again, without any new occasion, or just matter offered of complaint. For they did ground¹ this second insurrection against the Nobility and Patricians upon the people's misery and misfortune, that could not but fall out², by reason of the former discord and sedition between them and the Nobility. Because the most part of the arable land, within the territory of Rome, was become heathy³ and barren for lack of ploughing, for that they had no time nor mean⁴ to cause corn to be brought them out of other countries to sow, by reason of their wars; which made the extreme dearth they had among them. Now those busy prattlers that sought the people's goodwill by such flattering words, perceiving great scarcity of corn to be within the city: and though there had been plenty enough, yet the common people had no money to buy it: they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the Nobility, that they, in revenge of⁵ the people, had practised⁶ and procured⁷ the extreme dearth among them. Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there came ambassadors to Rome from the city of Velitres, that offered up their city to the Romans, and prayed them they would send new inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had been so extreme among them, and had killed such a number of them, as⁸ there was not left alive the tenth person of the people that had been there before. So the wise men of Rome began to think, that the necessity of the Velitrians fell out⁹ in a most happy hour; and how, by this occasion¹⁰, it was very meet, in so great a scarcity of victuals, to disburden Rome of a great number of citizens: and by this means as well to take away this new sedition, and utterly to rid it out of the city, as also to clear the same of many mutinous and seditious persons, being the superfluous ill humours that grievously fed this dis-

Sedition at Rome, by reason of famine.
¹ found.

² take place.

³ covered with heath.
⁴ means.

⁵ upon.
⁶ plotted.
⁷ brought about.

⁸ that.

⁹ happened.

¹⁰ opportunity.

ease. Hereupon the Consuls pricked out¹ all those by a bill², whom they intended to send to Velitres, to go dwell there as in form of a colony: and they levied out all the rest that remained in the city of Rome, a great number to go against the Volsces, hoping, by the mean³ of foreign war, to pacify their sedition at home. Moreover they imagined, when the poor with the rich, and the mean sort with the Nobility, should by this device be abroad in the wars, and in one camp, and in one service, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and loving together. But Sicinius and Brutus, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these devices, and cried out upon the noble men, that under the gentle name of a Colony, they would cloak and colour⁴ the most cruel and unnatural fact⁵ as might be: because they sent their poor citizens into a sore infected city and pestilent air, full of dead bodies unburied, and there also to dwell under the tuition⁶ of a strange god, that had so cruelly persecuted his people. "This were (said they) even as much, as if the Senate should headlong cast down the people into a most bottomless pit; and are not yet contented to have famished some of the poor citizens heretofore to death, and to put other of them even to the mercy of the plague: but afresh they have procured⁷ a voluntary war, to the end they would leave behind no kind of misery and ill, wherewith the poor silly people should not be plagued, and only because they are weary to serve the rich." The common people, being set on a broil and bravery⁸ with these words, would not appear when the Consuls called their names by a bill², to prest⁹ them for the wars, neither would they be sent out to this new colony: insomuch as the Senate knew not well what to say or to do in the matter.

9. Martius then, who was now grown to great credit, and a stout man besides, and of great reputation with the noblest men of Rome, rose up, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the city of Velitres, he did compel those that were chosen, to go thither and to depart¹⁰ the city, upon great penalties to him that should disobey: but to the wars the people by no means would be brought or constrained. So Martius, taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he could by fair words intreat to go with him, did run certain forays into the dominion of the Antiates, where he met with great plenty of corn, and had a marvellous great spoil, as well of cattle as of men he had taken prisoners, whom he brought away with him, and reserved nothing for himself. Afterwards,

Velitres made a colony to Rome.

¹ marked down.

² list.

³ means.

Two practices to remove the sedition at Rome.

Sicinius and Brutus, Tribunes of the people, against both those devices.

⁴ disguise.

⁵ deed.

⁶ tutelary power.

⁷ brought about.

⁸ insolence.

⁹ press.

Coriolanus offendeth the people.
¹⁰ leave.

Coriolanus invadeth the Antiates and bringeth rich spoils home.

¹ laden.
² stay-at-homes.
³ remained in.
⁴ fortune.
⁵ were envious.

The manner of suing for office at Rome.

⁶ with only.

Whereupon this means of suing was so devised.

Offices given then by desert, without favour or corruption.

⁷ took place.

⁸ that alone.
Banquets and money given, only destroyers of commonwealths.

⁹ was right.
¹⁰ continually.

Anytus the Athenian the first that

having brought back again all his men that went out with him, safe and sound to Rome, and every man rich and laden¹ with spoil: then the home-tarriers and house-doves² that kept³ Rome still, began to repent them that it was not their hap⁴ to go with him, and so envied both them that had sped so well in this journey; and also, of malice to Martius, they spited⁵ to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, Martius stood for the Consulship: and the common people favoured his suit, thinking it would be a shame to them to deny and refuse the chiefest noble man of blood, and most worthy person of Rome, and specially him that had done so great service and good to the commonwealth. For the custom of Rome was at that time, that such as did sue for any office, should for certain days before be in the market-place, only with⁶ a poor gown on their backs, and without any coat underneath, to pray the citizens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus devised, either to move the people the more, by requesting them in such mean apparel, or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten in the wars in the service of the commonwealth, as manifest marks and testimonies of their valiantness. Now it is not to be thought that the suitors went thus loose in a simple gown in the market-place, without any coat under it, for fear and suspicion of the common people: for offices of dignity in the city were not then given by favour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and selling fell out⁷ in election of officers, and that the voices of the electors were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten way into the election of offices, it hath run from man to man, even to the very sentence of judges, and also among captains in the wars: so as in the end, that only⁸ turned commonwealths into kingdoms, by making arms subject to money. Therefore me thinks he had reason⁹ that said: "he that first made banquets and gave money to the common people, was the first that took away authority, and destroyed commonwealth." But this pestilence crept in by little and little, and did secretly win ground still¹⁰, continuing a long time in Rome, before it was openly known and discovered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the people's voices for money, nor that corrupted the sentence of the Judges. Howbeit at Athens some hold opinion, that Anytus, the son of Anthemion, was the first that fed the judges with money, about

the end of the wars of Peloponnesus, being accused of treason for yielding up the fort of Pyle at that time, when the golden and unfoiled¹ age remained yet whole in judgment at Rome. Now Martius, following this custom, shewed many wounds and cuts upon his body, which he had received in seventeen years' service at the wars, and in many sundry battles, being ever the foremost man that did set out feet² to fight. So that there was not a man among the people but was ashamed of himself, to refuse so valiant a man: and one of them said to another, "we must needs choose him Consul, there is no remedy." But when the day of election was come, and that Martius came to the market-place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate and the whole Nobility of the city about him, who sought to make him Consul with the greatest instance³ and intreaty they could, or ever attempted for any man or matter: then the love and goodwill of the common people turned straight to an hate and envy toward him, fearing to put this office of sovereign authority into his hands, being a man somewhat partial towards the Nobility, and of great credit and authority amongst the Patricians, and as one they might doubt⁴ would take away altogether the liberty from the people. Whereupon, for these considerations, they refused Martius in the end, and made two other that were suitors, Consuls. The Senate, being marvelously offended with the people, did account the shame of this refusal rather to redound to themselves than to Martius: but Martius took it in far worse part than the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too full of passion and choler, and too much given over to self-will and opinion⁵, as one of a high mind and great courage, that lacked the gravity and affability that is gotten with judgment of learning and reason, which only is to be looked for⁶ in a governor of State: and that remembered not how wilfulness is the thing of⁷ the world, which a governor of a commonwealth, for pleasing⁸, should shun, being that which Plato called 'solitariness'; as in the end, all men that are wilfully given to a self-opinion and obstinate mind, and who will never yield to other's reason but to their own, remain without company, and forsaken of all men. For a man that will⁹ live in the world must needs have patience, which lusty bloods make but a mock at. So Martius, being a stout man of nature, that never yielded in any respect, as one thinking that to overcome always and to have the upper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimity and of no base and faint courage¹⁰, which

with money corrupted the sentence of the judge, and voices of the people.
¹ unsullied.

² advance.

³ urgency.
See the fickle minds of common people.

⁴ fear.

⁵ self-opinion.

⁶ expected.

⁷ the chief thing in.
⁸ if he would please men.
The fruits of selfwill and obstinacy.
⁹ wishes to.

¹⁰ ten per.

¹ passionate.² purulent.

discharge.

³ abscess.⁴ boldest.⁵ accus-
tomed.⁶ great.*Great store
of corn
brought to
Rome.*⁷ helped,
remedied.⁸ wondering.⁹ decision.¹⁰ be come
to.¹¹ cheaply.¹² head.¹³ rebuke.¹⁴ proposed.*Coriolanus'
oration
against the
insolency of
the people.*¹⁵ evil.¹⁶ darnel,
tares.¹⁷ wished.¹⁸ pleased.¹⁹ professed.²⁰ save only
the.

spitteth out anger from the most weak and passioned¹ part of the heart, much like the matter² of an impostume³: went home to his house, full freighted with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest⁴ young gentlemen, whose minds were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly used⁵ for to follow and honour him. But then specially they flocked about him, and kept him company to his much⁶ harm, for they did but kindle and inflame his choler more and more, being sorry with him for the injury the people offered him; because he was their captain and leader to the wars, that taught them all martial discipline, and stirred up in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantness, and yet, without envy, praising them that deserved best.

10. In the mean season there came great plenty of corn to Rome, that had been bought, part in Italy, and part was sent out of Sicily, as given by Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse: so that many stood in great hope, that the dearth of victuals being holpen⁷, the civil dissension would also cease. The Senate sat in council upon it immediately; the common people stood also about the palace where the council was kept, gaping⁸ what resolution⁹ would fall out¹⁰: persuading themselves that the corn they had bought should be sold good cheap¹¹, and that which was given should be divided by the poll¹², without paying any penny; and the rather, because certain of the Senators amongst them did so wish and persuade the same. But Martius, standing upon his feet, did somewhat sharply take up¹³ those who went about¹⁴ to gratify the people therein: and called them people-pleasers, and traitors to the Nobility. "Moreover," he said, "they nourished against themselves the naughty¹⁵ seed and cockle¹⁶ of insolence and sedition, which had been sowed and scattered abroad amongst the people, which they should have cut off, if they had been wise, in their growth: and not (to their own destruction) have suffered the people to establish a magistrate for themselves, of so great power and authority as that man had to whom they had granted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would¹⁷, and did nothing but what he listed¹⁸, neither passed for¹⁹ any obedience to the Consuls, but lived in all liberty; acknowledging no superior to command him, saving the only²⁰ heads and authors of their faction, whom he called his magistrates. Therefore," said he, "they that gave counsel and persuaded, that the corn should be given out to the common people *gratis*, as they

used to do in the cities of Greece, where the people had more absolute power, did but only nourish their disobedience, which would break out in the end, to the utter ruin and overthrow of the whole state. For they will not think it is done in recompence of their service past, sithence¹ they know well enough they have so oft refused to go to the wars when they were commanded: neither for their mutinies when they went with us, whereby they have rebelled and forsaken their country: neither for their accusations which their flatterers have preferred unto them, and they have received, and made good against the Senate: but they will rather judge, we give and grant them this as abasing ourselves, and standing in fear of them, and glad to flatter them every way. By this means their disobedience will still grow worse and worse: and they will never leave² to practise new sedition and uproars. Therefore it were a great folly for us, methinks, to do it: yea, shall I say more? we should, if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulship, and the cause of the division of the city. The state whereof, as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becometh dismembered in two factions, which maintains always civil dissension and discord between us, and will never suffer us again to be united into one body." Martius dilating the matter with many such like reasons, won all the young men, and almost all the rich men to his opinion: insomuch as they rang it out³, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who stood out against the people, and never flattered them. There were only a few old men that spake against him, fearing lest some mischief might fall out upon it⁴, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being present at this consultation of the Senate, when they saw that the opinion of Martius was confirmed with the more⁵ voices, they left the Senate, and went down to the people, crying out for help, and that they would assemble to save their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ran on head⁶ in tumult together, before whom the words that Martius spake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people so stomached⁷, that even in that fury they were ready to fly upon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen⁸ wholly upon Martius, and sent their sergeants forthwith to arrest him, presently⁹ to appear in person before the people, to answer the words he had spoken in the Senate. Martius stoutly withstood

¹ since.² cease.³ cried aloud.⁴ happen after it.⁵ majority of.*Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus.*⁶ ran ahead, rushed forward.⁷ resented.⁸ burden.⁹ straight-way.

¹ retreat.² would come.³ concerned them.⁴ clearing.⁵ moderation.⁶ displeasure.⁷ being pleased with.⁸ desired.*Articles against Coriolanus.*
⁹ persuaded.

these officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their own persons, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to fetch him by force, and so laid violent hands upon him. Howbeit the noble Patricians gathering together about him, made the Tribunes give back¹, and laid sore upon the Ædiles: so for that time the night parted them, and the tumult appeased. The next morning betimes, the Consuls seeing the people in an uproar, running to the market-place out of all parts of the city, they were afraid lest all the city would² together by the ears: wherefore assembling the Senate in all haste, they declared how it stood them upon³, to appease the fury of the people with some gentle words or grateful decrees in their favour: and moreover, like wise men they should consider, it was now no time to stand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour against the commonalty, they being fallen to so great an extremity, and offering such imminent danger. Wherefore they were to consider temperately of things, and to deliver some present and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senators that were present at this council, thought this opinion best, and gave their consents unto it. Whereupon the Consuls rising out of council, went to speak unto the people as gently as they could, and they did pacify their fury and anger, purging⁴ the Senate of all the unjust accusations laid upon them, and used great modesty⁵ in persuading them, and also in reproving the faults they had committed. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corn, they promised there should be no disliking⁶ offered them in the price. So the most part of the people being pacified, and appearing so plainly by the great silence that was among them, as yielding to the Consuls and liking well of⁷ their words: the Tribunes then of the people rose out of their seats, and said: "Forasmuch as the Senate yielded unto reason, the people also for their part, as became them, did likewise give place unto them: but notwithstanding, they would⁸ that Martius should come in person to answer to the articles they had devised. First, whether he had not solicited and procured⁹ the Senate to change the present state of the commonweal, and to take the sovereign authority out of the people's hands? Next, when he was sent for by authority of their officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey? Lastly, seeing he had driven and beaten the Ædiles into the market-place before all the world: if, in doing this, he had not done as much as in him lay, to raise civil wars, and to set one citizen against another?" All this was

spoken to one of these two ends, either that Martius, against his nature, should be constrained to humble himself and to abase his haughty and fierce mind : or else, if he continued still in his stoutness¹, he should incur the people's displeasure and ill-will so far, that he should never possibly win them again. Which they hoped would rather fall out² so, than otherwise : as indeed they guessed unhappily, considering Martius' nature and disposition.

11. So Martius came and presented himself to answer their accusations against him, and the people held their peace, and gave attentive ear, to hear what he would say. But where they thought to have heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not only to use his wonted boldness of speaking (which of itself was very rough and unpleasant, and did more aggravate his accusation, than purge³ his innocency⁴) but also gave himself in his words to thunder, and look therewithal so grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This stirred coals among the people, who were in wonderful fury at it, and their hate and malice grew so toward him, that they could hold no longer, bear, nor endure his bravery⁵ and careless boldness. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruellest and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a little with his companions, did openly pronounce, in the face of all the people, Martius as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then presently he commanded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and carry him straight to the rock Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong down the same. When the Ædiles came to lay hands upon Martius to do that⁶ they were commanded, divers of the people themselves thought it too cruel and violent a deed. The noblemen, being much troubled to see so much force and rigour used, began to cry aloud 'help Martius': so those that laid hands on him being repulsed, they compassed him in round⁷ among themselves, and some of them, holding up their hands to the people, besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words nor crying out could aught prevail, the tumult and hurlyburly⁸ was so great, until such time as the Tribunes' own friends and kinsmen, weighing with themselves the impossibleness⁹ to convey Martius to execution without great slaughter and murder of the nobility, did persuade and advise not to proceed in so violent and extraordinary a sort, as to put such a man to death without lawful process in law, but that they should refer the sentence of his death to the free voice of the people. Then Sicinius, be-

¹ boldness.

² turn out.

Coriolanus' stoutness in defence of himself.

³ make clear.

⁴ innocence.

⁵ audacity.

Sicinius the Tribune pronounceth sentence of death upon Martius.

⁶ what.

⁷ around.

⁸ confusion.

⁹ impossibility.

*Coriolanus
hath day
given him
to answer
the people.
¹ require.*

* arrived.

³ wherefore.

⁴ took place.

⁵ assuaged.

⁶ at once.

⁷ support.

⁸ opportu-
nity.

⁹ mutiny.

¹⁰ held.

¹¹ courteous.

¹² so that.

thinking himself a little, did ask the Patricians, for what cause they took Martius out of the officers' hands that went to do execution? The Patricians asked him again, why they would of themselves so cruelly and wickedly put to death so noble and valiant a Roman as Martius was, and that without law and justice? "Well then," said Sicinius, "if that be the matter, let there be no quarrel or dissension against the people: for they do grant your demand, that his cause shall be heard according to the law. Therefore," said he to Martius, "we do will¹ and charge you to appear before the people, the third day of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shall be objected against you, that by free voice the people may give sentence upon you as shall please them. The noblemen were glad then of the adjournment, and were much pleased they had gotten Martius out of this danger. In the mean space before the third day of their next session came about², the same being kept every ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon³ they call it now in Latin *Nundinæ*: there fell out⁴ war against the Antiates, which gave some hope to the nobility that this adjournment would come to little effect, thinking that this war would hold them so long, as that the fury of the people against him would be well suaged⁵, or utterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the wars. But contrary to expectation, the peace was concluded presently⁶ with the Antiates, and the people returned again to Rome. Then the Patricians assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might stand to⁷ Martius, and keep the Tribunes from occasion⁸ to cause the people to mutine⁹ again, and rise against the Nobility. And there Appius Claudius (one that was taken¹⁰ ever as an heavy enemy to the people) did avow and protest, that they would utterly abase the authority of the Senate, and destroy the commonweal, if they would suffer the common people to have authority by voices to give judgment against the Nobility. On the other side again, the most ancient Senators, and such as were given to favour the common people, said: "that when the people should see they had authority of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruel and fierce, but gentle and civil¹¹. More also, that it was not for contempt of Nobility or the Senate that they sought to have the authority of justice in their hands, as a pre-eminence and prerogative of honour: but because they feared, that themselves should be contemned and hated of the Nobility. So as¹² they were persuaded, that so soon as they gave them authority to

judge by voices, they would leave¹ all envy and malice to condemn any." Martius, seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolve², partly for the love and goodwill the nobility did bear him, and partly for the fear they stood in of the people: asked aloud of the Tribunes, 'what matter they would burden³ him with?' The Tribunes answered him, 'that they would shew how he did aspire to be King, and would prove that all his actions tended to usurp tyrannical power over Rome.' Martius with that, rising upon his feet, said: 'that thereupon⁴ he did willingly offer himself to the people, to be tried upon that accusation: and that if it were proved by⁵ him, he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then refuse no kind of punishment they would offer him: conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing else beside, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate.' They promised they would not. Under these conditions the judgment was agreed upon, and the people assembled.

12. And first of all the Tribunes would⁶ in any case (whatsoever became⁷ of it) that the people should proceed to give their voices by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this means the multitude of the poor needy people (and all such rabble as had nothing to lose, and had less regard of honesty before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voices were numbered by the poll⁸) than the noble honest citizens, whose persons and purse did dutifully serve the commonwealth in their wars. And then, when the Tribunes saw they could not prove he went about⁹ to make himself King, they began to broach afresh the former words that Martius had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the corn at mean¹⁰ price unto the common people, and persuading also to take the office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third, they charged him anew, that he had not made the common distribution of the spoil he had gotten in the invading the territories of the Antiates: but had of his own authority divided it among them who were with him in that journey. But this matter was most strange of all to Martius, looking¹¹ least to have been burdened¹² with that as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sudden, and having no ready excuse to make even at that instant: he began to fall a praising of the soldiers that had served with him in that journey. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out so loud, and made such a noise, that he could not be heard. To conclude,

¹ forego.² decide.³ charge.*Coriolanus accused that he sought to be king.*⁴ on that count.⁵ regarding.⁶ resolved.⁷ came.⁸ head.⁹ endeavoured.¹⁰ low.¹¹ expecting.¹² charged.*Coriolanus banished for ever.*

¹ count.² that.³ on the
contrary.⁴ contemned.⁵ evidently.
Coriolanus'
constant
mind in
*adversity.*⁶ allay.
⁷ ill fortune.*The force of*
*anger.*⁸ fit of anger.⁹ agitated.

when they came to tell¹ the voices of the Tribes, there were three voices odd, which condemned him to be banished for ever. After declaration of the sentence, the people made such joy, as² they never rejoiced more for any battle they had won upon their enemies, they were so brave and lively, and went home so jocundly from the assembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate again, in contrary manner³, were as sad and heavy, repenting themselves beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to have done and suffered anything whatsoever, before the common people should so arrogantly and outrageously have abused⁴ their authority. There needed no difference of garments, I warrant you, nor outward shows, to know a Plebeian from a Patrician, for they were easily discerned by their looks. For he that was on the people's side looked cheerfully on the matter: but he that was sad and hung down his head, he was sure⁵ of the noblemen's side: saving Martius alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gait did ever shew himself abashed, or once let fall his great courage: but he only, of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly shew no manner of passion, nor care at all of himself. Not that he did patiently bear and temper⁶ his evil hap⁷ in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but because he was so carried away with the vehemency of anger and desire of revenge, that he had no sense nor feeling of the hard state he was in: which the common people judge not to be sorrow, although indeed it be the very same. For when sorrow (as you would say) is set on fire, then it is converted into spite and malice, and driveth away for that time all faintness of heart and natural fear. And this is the cause why the choleric man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man set on fire with a burning ague: for when a man's heart is troubled within, his pulse will beat marvellous strongly. Now that Martius was even in that taking⁸ it appeared true soon after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, and had taken his leave of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and shrieking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and persuaded them to be content with his chance: he went immediately to the gate of the city, accompanied with a great number of Patricians, that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or four of his friends only, taking nothing with him, nor requesting anything of any man. So he remained a few days in the country at his houses, turmoiled⁹ with sundry

sorts and kinds of thoughts, such as the fire of his choler did stir up.

13. In the end, seeing he could resolve¹ no way to take a profitable or honourable course, but only was pricked forward still to be revenged of the Romans: he thought to raise up some great wars against them, by their nearest neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his best way, first to stir up the Volscs against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had received not long before, and that their power was not so much impaired, as their malice and desire was increased to be revenged of the Romans. Now in the city of Antium there was one called Tullus Aufidius, who for his riches, as also for his nobility and valiantness, was honoured among the Volscs as a king. Martius knew very well that Tullus did more malice² and envy him than he did all the Romans besides: because that many times, in battles where they met, they were ever at the encounter one against another, like lusty courageous youths striving in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. Insomuch as, besides the common quarrel between them, there was bred a marvellous private hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that Tullus Aufidius was a man of a great mind, and that he above all other of the Volscs most desired revenge of the Romans, for the injuries they had done unto them: he did an act that confirmed the words of an ancient poet to be true, who said:

It is a thing full hard, man's anger to withstand,

If it be stiffly bent to take an enterprise in hand.

For then most men will have the thing that they desire,

Although it cost their lives therefore, such force hath wicked ire.

And so did he. For he disguised himself in such array and attire, as he thought no man could ever have known him for the person he was, seeing him in that apparel he had upon his back: and as Homer said of Ulysses:

So did he enter into the enemies' town.

It was even twilight when he entered the city of Antium, and many people met him in the streets, but no man knew him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius' house, and when he came thither, he got him³ up straight to the chimney-hearth, and sat him down, and spake not a word to any man, his face all muf-

¹ decide.

Tullus Aufidius, a great person among the Volscs.

² hate.

Coriolanus disguised, goes to Antium, a city of the Volscs.

³ went.

¹ at once.*Coriolanus' oration to Tullus Aufidius.*² reveal.³ because of.⁴ toilsome.⁵ spurred on.⁶ wreaked.⁷ have success.⁸ try.⁹ serve.

fled over. They of the house spying him, wondered what he should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For ill-favourably muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certain majesty in his countenance and in his silence: whereupon they went to Tullus, who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. Tullus rose presently¹ from the board, and coming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then Martius unmuffled himself, and after he had paused awhile, making no answer, he said unto him: "If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and, seeing me, dost not perhaps believe me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessity bewray² myself to be that I am. I am Caius Martius, who hath done to thyself particularly, and to all the Volscs generally, great hurt and mischief, which I cannot deny for³ my surname of Coriolanus that I bear. For I never had other benefit nor recompence of the true and painful⁴ service I have done, and the extreme dangers I have been in, but this only surname: a good memory and witness of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest bear me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me: for the rest the envy and cruelty of the people of Rome have taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobility and magistrates, who have forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremity hath now driven me to come as a poor suitor, to take thy chimney-hearth, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby: for if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to have put myself in hazard: but pricked forward⁵ with desire to be revenged of them that thus have banished me; which now I do begin, in putting my person into the hands of their enemies. Wherefore, if thou hast any heart to be wrecked⁶ of the injuries thy enemies have done thee, speed thee⁷ now, and let my misery serve thy turn, and so use it as my service may be a benefit to the Volscs: promising thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you than I did when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiantly who know the force of the enemy, than such as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art weary to prove⁸ fortune any more, then am I also weary to live any longer. And it were no wisdom in thee, to save the life of him, who hath been heretofore thy mortal enemy, and whose service now can nothing help nor pleasure⁹ thee." Tullus, hearing what he said, was a marvellous glad man, and taking him by the hand, he

said unto him: "Stand up, O Martius, and be of good cheer, for in proffering thyself unto us thou doest us great honour: and by this means thou mayest hope also of greater things at all the Volsces' hands. So he feasted him for that time, and entertained him in the honourablest manner he could, talking with him of no other matter at that present: but within few days after they fell to consultation together, in what sort they should begin their wars.

14. Now on the other side, the city of Rome was in marvellous uproar and discord, the nobility against the commonalty, and chiefly for Martius' condemnation and banishment. Moreover the priests, the soothsayers, and private men also, came and declared to the Senate certain sights and wonders in the air, which they had seen, and were to be considered of: amongst the which such a vision happened: There was a citizen of Rome called Titus Latinus, a man of mean quality and condition, but otherwise an honest sober man, given to a quiet life, without superstition, and much less to vanity or lying. This man had a vision in his dream, in the which he thought that Jupiter appeared unto him, and commanded him to signify to the Senate, that they had caused a very vile lewd dancer to go before the procession: and said, the first time this vision had appeared unto him, he made no reckoning of it: and coming again another time into his mind, he made not much more account of the matter than before. In the end, he saw one of his sons die, who had the best nature and condition of all his brethren: and suddenly he himself was so taken in all his limbs, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he told the whole circumstance of this vision before the Senate, sitting upon his little couch or bed, whereon he was carried on men's arms: and he had no sooner reported this vision to the Senate, but he presently¹ felt his body and limbs restored again to their former strength and use. So raising up himself upon his couch, he got up on his feet at that instant, and walked home to his house, without help of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enquiry to understand the truth: and in the end they found there was such a thing: There was one that had delivered a bondman of his that had offended him into the hands of other slaves and bondmen, and had commanded them to whip him up and down the market-place, and afterwards to kill him: and as they had him in execution², whipping him cruelly, they did so martyr³ the poor wretch, that,

Great dissension at Rome about Martius' banishment.

¹ at once.

² punishment.
³ torture.

The Romans' manner of punishing their slaves.
¹ limber, shaft.
² undergone.

Whereof Furcifer came.

A ceremony instituted by king Numa touching religion.

for the cruel smart and pain he felt, he turned and writhed his body in strange and pitiful sort. The procession by chance came by even at the same time, and many that followed it were heartily moved and offended with the sight, saying: that this was no good sight to behold, nor meet to be met in procession-time. But for all this, there was nothing done: saving they blamed and rebuked him that punished his slave so cruelly. For the Romans at that time did use their bondmen very gently, because they themselves did labour with their own hands, and lived with them and among them: and therefore they did use them the more gently and familiarly. For the greatest punishment they gave a slave that had offended, was this. They made him carry a limmer¹ on his shoulders that is fastened to the axletree of a coach, and compelled him to go up and down in that sort amongst all their neighbours. He that had once abidden² this punishment, and was seen in that manner, was proclaimed and cried in every market-town: so that no man would ever trust him after, and they called him *Furcifer*, because the Latins call the wood that runneth into the axletree of the coach *Furca*, as much to say as a fork. Now when Latinus had made report to the Senate of the vision that had happened to him, they were devising whom this unpleasant dancer should be, that went before the procession. Thereupon certain that stood by remembered the poor slave that was so cruelly whipped through the market-place, whom they afterwards put to death: and the thing that made him remember it, was the strange and rare manner of his punishment. The priests hereupon were repaired unto for their advice: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the slave. So they caused the slave's master to be punished, and began again a new procession, and all other shows and sights in honour of Jupiter. But hereby appeareth plainly, how king Numa did wisely ordain all other ceremonies concerning devotion to the gods, and specially this custom which he established, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishops, priests, or other religious ministers go about any divine service or matter of religion, an herald ever goeth before them, crying out aloud *Hoc age*: as to say, do this, or mind this. Hereby they are specially commanded, wholly to dispose themselves to serve God, leaving all other business and matters aside: knowing well enough, that whatsoever most men do, they do it as in a manner constrained unto it. But the Romans did ever use

to begin again their sacrifices, processions, plays, and such like shows done in honour of the gods, not only upon such an occasion, but upon lighter causes than that. As, when they went on procession through the city, and did carry the images of their gods and such other like holy relics upon open hallowed coaches or chariots, called in Latin *Thensæ*, one of the coach-horses that drew them stood still and would draw no more, and because also the coach-man took the reins of his bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the procession should be begun again anew. Of late time also, they did renew and begin a sacrifice thirty times one after another, because they thought still¹ there fell out² one fault or other in the same: so holy and devout were they to the gods.

15. Now Tullus and Martius had secret conference with the greatest personages of the city of Antium, declaring unto them that now they had good time offered them to make war with the Romans, while they were in dissension one with another. They answered them, they were ashamed to break the league, considering that they were sworn to keep peace for two years. Howbeit, shortly after, the Romans gave them great occasion³ to make war with them. For on a holy day, common plays being kept in Rome, upon some suspicion or false report, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the Volscs should avoid⁴ out of Rome before sunset. Some think this was a craft and deceit of Martius, who sent one to Rome to the Consuls to accuse the Volscs falsely, advertising them how they had made a conspiracy to set upon them while they were busy in seeing these games, and also to set their city on fire. This open proclamation made all the Volscs more offended with the Romans than ever they were before: and Tullus, aggravating the matter, did so inflame the Volscs against them, that in the end they sent their ambassadors to Rome, to summon them to deliver their lands and towns again, which they had taken from them in times past, or to look for⁵ present⁶ wars. The Romans, hearing this, were marvellously nettled: and made no other answer but this: "If the Volscs be the first that begin war, the Romans will be the last that will end it." Incontinently⁷ upon return of the Volscs' ambassadors and delivery of the Romans' answer, Tullus caused an assembly general to be made of the Volscs, and concluded⁸ to make war upon the Romans. This done, Tullus did counsel them to take Martius into their service, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of any-

The superstition of the Romans.

Thensæ.

¹ continually.
² happened.

The Romans gave the Volscs occasion of war.

³ cause.

Martius Coriolanus' crafty accusation of the Volscs.
⁴ depart.

⁵ expect.
⁶ immediate.

⁷ immediately.

⁸ decided.

*Coriolanus
chosen general of the
Volsces with
Tullus Aufidius a-
gainst the
Romans.
1 shewed.*

² length.

³ equip-
ments.

⁴ means.

*Coriolanus
invadeth the
territories of
the Romans.*

⁵ that.

*A fine device
to make the
commonalty
suspect the
nobility.*

⁶ quarrelled.

*Great heart-
burning be-
twixt the
nobility and
the people.*

thing past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come: for he would do them more service in fighting for them than ever he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So Martius was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no less eloquent in tongue than warlike in show: and declared¹ himself both expert in wars, and wise with valiantness. Thus he was joined in commission with Tullus as general of the Volsces, having absolute authority between them to follow and pursue the wars. But Martius, fearing lest tract² of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture³ of the Volsces would rob him of the mean⁴ he had to execute his purpose and intent, left order with the rulers and chief of the city to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary provision for the camp. Then he, with the lightest soldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stole away upon the sudden, and marched with all speed, and entered the territories of Rome before the Romans heard any news of his coming. Insomuch as the Volsces found such spoil in the fields, as⁵ they had more than they could spend in their camp, and were weary to drive and carry away that they had. Howbeit, the gain of the spoil and the hurt they did to the Romans in this invasion was the least part of his intent: for his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissension between the nobility and the commonalty: and to draw that on, he was very careful to keep the noblemen's lands and goods safe from harm and burning, but spoiled all the whole country besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt anything of the noblemen's. This made greater stir and broil between the nobility and the people than was before. For the noblemen fell out⁶ with the people because they had so unjustly banished a man of so great valour and power. The people, on the other side, accused the nobility, how they had procured Martius to make these wars to be revenged of them: because it pleased them to see their goods burnt and spoiled before their eyes, whilst themselves were well at ease, and did behold the people's losses and misfortunes, knowing their own goods safe and out of danger: and how the war was not made against the noblemen, that had the enemy abroad to keep that they had in safety. Now Martius, having done his first exploit (which made the Volsces bolder, and less fearful of the Romans), brought home all the army again without loss of any man. After their whole army (which was marvellous great, and very forward to

service) was assembled in one camp, they agreed to leave part of it for garrison in the country about, and the other part should go on and make the war upon the Romans. So Martius bade Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him answer, he knew by experience that Martius was no less valiant than himself, and how he ever had better fortune and good hap in all battles than himself had. Therefore he thought it best for him to have the leading of those that would make the wars abroad, and himself would keep¹ home, to provide for the safety of the cities of his country, and to furnish the camp also of² all necessary provision abroad.

16. So Martius, being stronger than before, went first of all unto the city of Cercees³, inhabited by the Romans, who willingly yielded themselves, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entered the country of the Latins, imagining the Romans would fight with him there to defend the Latins, who were their confederates, and had many times sent unto the Romans for their aid. But on the one side, the people of Rome were very ill willing⁴ to go: and on the other side, the Consuls being upon going out⁵ of their office, would not hazard themselves for so small a time: so that the ambassadors of the Latins returned home again, and did no good. Then Martius did besiege their cities, and having taken by force the town of the Tolerinians, Vicanians, Pedanians, and the Bolanians, who made resistance, he sacked all their goods and took them prisoners. Such as did yield themselves willingly unto him, he was as careful as possible might be to defend them from hurt: and because they should receive no damage by his will⁶, he removed his camp as far from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he took the city of Boles⁷ by assault, being about an hundred furlong from Rome, where he had a marvellous great spoil, and put every man to the sword that was able to carry weapon. The other Volsces that were appointed to remain in garrison for defence of their country, hearing this good news, would tarry no longer at home, but armed themselves and ran to Martius' camp, saying they did acknowledge no other captain but him. Hereupon his fame ran through all Italy, and every one praised him for a valiant captain, for that, by change of one man for another, such and so strange events fell out in the state. In this while⁸, all went still to wrack at Rome. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to hear of it, they were one so much against another, and full of seditious words,

¹ stay at.² with.³ Circeii.⁴ unwilling.⁵ ready to go out.⁶ with his consent.⁷ Bola or Bolla.⁸ meanwhile.

*Lavinium
built by
Æneas.*
¹ at last.

² through.

³ strait.

⁴ at once.

⁶ oppose.

⁶ behaved
them.
*The Romans
send ambas-
sadors to*

the nobility against the people, and the people against the nobility. Until they had intelligence at the length¹, that the enemies had laid siege to the city of Lavinium, in the which were all the temples and images of their gods their protectors, and from whence came first their ancient original, for that Æneas at his first arrival into Italy did build that city. Then fell there out a marvellous sudden change of mind among the people, and far more strange and contrary in the nobility. For the people thought it good to repeal the condemnation and exile of Martius. The Senate, assembled upon it, would in no case yield to that: who either did it of a selfwill to be contrary to the people's desire: or because Martius should not return thorough² the grace and favour of the people. Or else, because they were thoroughly angry and offended with him, that he would set upon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would shew himself an open enemy besides unto his country: notwithstanding the most part of them took the wrong they had done him in marvellous ill part, and as if the injury had been done unto themselves. Report being made of the Senate's resolution, the people found themselves in a strait³: for they could authorise and confirm nothing by their voices, unless it had been first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But Martius, hearing this stir about him, was in a greater rage with them than before: inasmuch as he raised his siege incontinently⁴ before the city of Lavinium, and going towards Rome, lodged his camp within forty furlong of the city, at the ditches called Cluiliæ. His incamping so near Rome did put all the whole city in a wonderful fear: howbeit for the present time it appeased the sedition and dissension betwixt the nobility and the people. For there was no consul, senator, nor magistrate, that durst once contrary⁵ the opinion of the people for the calling home again of Martius.

17. When they saw the women in a marvellous fear, running up and down the city: the temples of the gods full of old people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the gods: and finally, not a man either wise or hardy to provide for their safety: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reason to call home Martius again, to reconcile themselves to him, and that the Senate, on the contrary part, were in marvellous great fault to be angry and in choler with him, when it stood them upon⁶ rather to have gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to send ambassadors unto him, to let him understand

how his countrymen did call him home again, and restored him to all his goods, and besought him to deliver them from this war. The ambassadors that were sent were Martius' familiar friends and acquaintance, who looked at the least for a courteous welcome of¹ him, as of their familiar friend and kinsman. Howbeit they found nothing less: for at their coming they were brought through the camp to the place where he was set in his chair of state, with a marvellous and an unspeakable majesty, having the chiefest men of the Volscs about him: so he commanded them to declare openly the cause of their coming. Which they delivered in the most humble and lowly words they possibly could devise, and with all modest countenance and behaviour agreeable to the same. When they had done their message, for² the injury they had done him, he answered them very hotly and in great choler: but as general of the Volscs he willed³ them to restore unto the Volscs all their lands and cities they had taken from them in former wars: and moreover, that they should give them the like honour and freedom of Rome as they had before given to the Latins. For otherwise they had no other mean⁴ to end this war, if they did not grant these honest and just conditions of peace. Thereupon he gave them thirty days respite to make him answer. So the ambassadors returned straight to Rome, and Martius forthwith departed with his army out of the territories of the Romans. This was the first matter wherewith the Volscs (that most envied Martius' glory and authority) did charge⁵ Martius with. Among those, Tullus was chief: who though he had received no private injury or displeasure of⁶ Martius, yet the common fault and imperfection of man's nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to see his own reputation blemished through Martius' great fame and honour, and so himself to be less esteemed of the Volscs than he was before. This fell out⁷ the more, because every man honoured Martius, and thought he only could do all, and that all other governors and captains must be content with such credit and authority as he would please to countenance them with. From hence they derived all their first accusations and secret murmurings against Martius. For private captains, conspiring against him, were very angry with him: and gave it out, that the removing of the camp was a manifest treason⁸, not of the towns, nor forts, nor of arms, but of time and occasion⁹, which was a loss of great importance, because it was that which in reason might both loose and bind all, and preserve

Coriolanus to treat of peace.

¹ from, by.

² with regard to.

³ required.

⁴ way.

The first occasion of the Volscs' envy to Coriolanus.

⁵ accuse.

⁶ from.

⁷ happened.

⁸ surrender.

⁹ opportunity.

¹ nevertheless.

the whole. Now Martius having given the Romans thirty days respite for their answer, and specially because the wars have not accustomed to make any great changes in less space of time than that, he thought it good yet¹, not to lie asleep and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the lands of the enemies' allies, and took seven great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the Romans durst not once put themselves into the field to come to their aid and help, they were so faint-hearted, so mistrustful, and loth besides to make wars. Inso-much as they properly resembled the bodies paralytic and loosed of their limbs and members, as those which through the palsy have lost all their sense and feeling.

² embassy.
Another
ambassade
sent to
Coriolanus.
³ removal.

18. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, Martius being returned into the dominions of the Romans again with all his army, they sent another ambassade² unto him, to pray peace, and the remove³ of the Volsces out of their country: that afterwards they might with better leisure fall to such agreements together as should be thought most meet and necessary. For the Romans were no men that would ever yield for fear. But if he thought the Volsces had any ground to demand reasonable articles and conditions, all that they would reasonably ask should be granted unto by the Romans, who of themselves would willingly yield to reason, conditionally, that they did lay down arms. Martius to that answered: 'that, as general of the Volsces, he would reply nothing unto it: but yet, as a Roman citizen, he would counsel them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they should return again within three days, delivering up the articles agreed upon, which he had first delivered them. Otherwise, that he would no more give them assurance or safe conduct to return again into his camp with such vain and frivolous messages.' When the ambassadors were returned to Rome, and had reported Martius' answer to the Senate: their city being in extreme danger, and as it were in a terrible storm or tempest, they threw out (as the common proverb saith) their holy anchor. For then they appointed all the bishops, priests, ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and all the augurs or soothsayers, which foreshew things to come by observation of the flying of birds (which is an old ancient kind of prophesying and divination amongst the Romans) to go to Martius, apparelled as when they do their sacrifices: and first to intreat him to leave off war, and then that he would speak to his country-

The priests
and sooth-
sayers sent to
Coriolanus.

men, and conclude peace with the Volsces. Martius suffered them to come into his camp, but yet he granted them nothing the more¹, neither did he entertain them or speak more courteously to them, than he did the first time that they came unto him, saving only that he willed them to take the one of the two : either to accept peace under the first conditions offered, or else to receive war. When all this goodly rabble of superstitious priests were returned, it was determined in council that none should go out of the gates of the city, and that they should watch and ward upon the walls to repulse their enemies if they came to assault them : referring themselves and all their hope to time, and fortune's uncertain favour, not knowing otherwise how to remedy the danger. Now all the city was full of tumult, fear, and marvellous doubt what would happen, until at the length there fell out such a like matter, as Homer oftentimes said they would least have thought of. For in great matters, that happen seldom, Homer saith, and crieth out in this sort :

¹ none the more.

The goddess Pallas she, with her fair glistening eyes,
Did put into his mind such thoughts, and made him so devise,

And in another place :

But sure some god hath tane² out of the people's mind
Both wit and understanding eke, and have therewith assigned
Some other simple spirit, instead thereof to bide,
That so they might their doings all, for lack of wit, misguide.

² taken.

And in another place :

The people of themselves did either it consider,
Or else some god instructed them, and so they join'd together.

Many reckon not of Homer, as referring matters impossible³, and fables of no likelihood or troth, unto man's reason, freewill, or judgment, which indeed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he maketh to depend of our own freewill and reason. For he oft speaketh these words :

³ impossible.

I have thought it in my noble heart.

And in another place :

Achilles angry was, and sorry for to hear
Him so to say, his heavy breast was fraught with pensive fear.

And in another place :

Bellerophon (she) could not move with her fair tongue,
So honest and so virtuous he was, the rest among.

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which are done by

¹ presents.

secret inspirations and motions, he doth not say that God taketh away from man his choice and freedom of will, but that he doth move it: neither that he doth work desire in us, but objecteth¹ to our minds certain imaginations whereby we are led to desire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage and hope of success. For either we must say, that the gods meddle not with the causes and beginnings of our actions: or else what other means have they to help and further men? It is apparent that they handle not our bodies, nor move not our feet and hands, when there is occasion to use them: but that part of our mind from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or carried away by such objects and reasons, as God offereth unto it.

² troop.

*Valeria,
Publicola's
sister.*

*Volumnia,
Martius' mother.*

*The words
of Valeria,
unto Volumnia and
Virgilia.*

³ greater.

19. Now the Roman ladies and gentlewomen did visit all the temples and gods of the same, to make their prayers unto them: but the greatest ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the altar of Jupiter Capitolin, among which troupe² by name, was Valeria, Publicola's own sister; the self-same Publicola, who did such notable service to the Romans, both in peace and wars, and was dead also certain years before, as we have declared in his life. His sister Valeria was greatly honoured and reverenced among all the Romans: and did so modestly and wisely behave herself, that she did not shame nor dishonour the house she came of. So she suddenly fell into such a fancy, as we have rehearsed before, and had (by some god, as I think) taken hold of a noble device. Whereupon she rose and the other ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of Volumnia, Martius' mother: and coming in to her, found her, and Martius' wife her daughter-in-law, set together, and having her husband Martius' young children in her lap. Now all the train of these ladies sitting in a ring round about her, Valeria first began to speak in this sort unto her: "We ladies are come to visit you ladies (my lady Volumnia and Virgilia) by no direction from the Senate, nor commandment of other magistrate, but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god above: who, having taken compassion and pity of our prayers, hath moved us to come unto you, to intreat you in a matter, as well beneficial for us as also for the whole citizens in general, but to yourselves in special (if it please you to credit me), and shall redound to your more³ fame and glory, than the daughters of the Sabines obtained

in former age, when they procured loving peace, instead of hateful war, between their fathers and their husbands. Come on, good ladies, and let us go all together unto Martius, to intreat him to take pity upon us, and also to report the truth unto him, how much you are bound unto the citizens : who notwithstanding they have sustained great hurt and losses by him, yet they have not hitherto sought revenge upon your persons by any discourteous usage, neither ever conceived any such thought or intent against you, but to deliver you safe into his hands, though thereby they look for no better grace or clemency from him." When Valeria had spoken this unto them, all the other ladies together, with one voice, confirmed that she had said. Then Volumnia in this sort did answer her : " My good ladies, we are partakers with you of the common misery and calamity of our country, and yet our grief exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular misfortune, to feel the loss of my son Martius' former valiancy¹ and glory, and to see his person environed now with our enemies' in arms, rather to see him forthcoming and safe kept than of any love to defend his person. But yet the greatest grief of our heaped mishaps is to see our poor country brought to such extremity, that all the hope of the safety and preservation thereof is now unfortunately cast upon us simple women : because we know not what account he will make of us, since he hath cast from him all care of his natural country and commonweal, which heretofore he hath holden more dear and precious than either his mother, wife, or children. Notwithstanding, if ye think we can do good, we will willingly do what you will have us ; bring us to him, I pray you. For if we cannot prevail, we may yet die at his feet, as humble suitors for the safety of our country." Her answer ended, she took her daughter-in-law and Martius' children with her, and being accompanied with all the other Roman ladies, they went in troupe² together unto the Volsces' camp : whom when they saw, they of themselves did both pity and reverence her, and there was not a man among them that once durst say a word unto her. Now was Martius set then in his chair of state, with all the honours of a general, and when he had spied the women coming afar off, he marvelled what the matter meant : but afterwards knowing his wife which came foremost, he determined at the first to persist in his obstinate and inflexible rancour. But overcome in the end with natural affection, and

*The answer
of Volumnia
to the Ro-
man ladies.*

¹ valour.

² a troop.

¹ changed,
overcome.

*The oration
of Volumnia
unto her son
Coriolanus.*

² reveal.

* unfortun-
ately in ed.
1603.

³ dreadful.

⁴ tarry, wait.

⁵ over.

being altogether altered¹ to see them, his heart would not serve him to tarry their coming to his chair, but coming down in haste he went to meet them, and first he kissed his mother, and embraced her a pretty while, then his wife and little children. And nature so wrought with him that the tears fell from his eyes, and he could not keep himself from making much of them, but yielded to the affection of his blood, as if he had been violently carried with the fury of a most swift running stream. After he had thus lovingly received them, and perceiving that his mother Volumnia would begin to speak to him, he called the chiefest of the council of the Volsces to hear what she would say. Then she spake in this sort: "If we held our peace, my son, and determined not to speak, the state of our poor bodies, and present sight of our raiment, would easily bewray² to thee what life we have led at home, since thy exile and abode abroad; but think now with thyself, how much more unfortunate* than all the women living, we are come hither, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all other to behold, spiteful fortune had made most fearful³ to us: making myself to see my son, and my daughter here her husband, besieging the walls of his native country: so as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adversity and misery, to pray unto the gods and to call to them for aid, is the only thing which plungeth us into most deep perplexity. For we cannot, alas! together pray both for victory to our country and for safety of thy life also: but a world of grievous curses, yea, more than any mortal enemy can heap upon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our prayers. For the bitter sop of most hard choice is offered thy wife and children, to forego one of the two: either to lose the person of thyself, or the nurse of their native country. For myself, my son, I am determined not to tarry till fortune, in my lifetime, do make an end of this war. For if I cannot persuade thee, rather to do good unto both parties than to overthrow and destroy the one, preferring love and nature before the malice and calamity of wars, thou shalt see, my son, and trust unto it, thou shalt no sooner march forward to assault thy country, but thy foot shall tread upon thy mother's womb, that brought thee first into this world. And I may not defer⁴ to see the day, either that my son be led prisoner in triumph by his natural countrymen, or that he himself do triumph of⁵ them, and of his natural country. For if it were so, that my request tended to save thy country, in

destroying the Volscs, I must confess, thou wouldest hardly and doubtfully resolve on that. For as, to destroy thy natural country, it is altogether unmeet and unlawful, so were it not just, and less honourable, to betray those that put their trust in thee. But my only¹ demand consisteth, to make a gaol-delivery of all evils, which delivereth equal benefit and safety both to the one and the other, but most honourable for the Volscs. For it shall appear, that, having victory in their hands, they have of special favour granted us singular graces, peace, and amity, albeit themselves have no less part of both than we. Of which good, if so it came to pass, thyself is the only¹ author, and so hast thou the only¹ honour. But if it fail and fall out contrary, thyself alone deservedly shalt carry the shameful reproach and burthen of either party. So, though the end of war be uncertain, yet this notwithstanding is most certain, that, if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit shalt thou reap of thy goodly conquest, to be chronicled² the plague and destroyer of thy country. And if fortune overthrow thee, then the world will say, that, through desire to revenge thy private injuries, thou hast for ever undone thy good friends, who did most lovingly and courteously receive thee." Martius gave good ear unto his mother's words, without interrupting her speech at all, and after she had said what she would, he held his peace a pretty while, and answered not a word. Hereupon she began again to speak unto him, and said: "My son, why dost thou not answer me? Dost thou think it good altogether to give place unto thy choler and desire of revenge, and thinkest thou it not honesty³ for thee to grant thy mother's request, in so weighty a cause? Dost thou take it honourable for a noble man to remember the wrongs and injuries done him, and dost not in like case think it an honest⁴ noble man's part, to be thankful for the goodness that parents do shew to their children, acknowledging the duty and reverence they ought to bear unto them? No man living is more bound to shew himself thankful in all parts and respects than thyself: who so unnaturally* shewest all ingratitude. Moreover (my son) thou hast sorely taken of⁵ thy country, exacting grievous payments upon⁶ them, in revenge of the injuries offered thee; besides, thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poor mother any courtesy. And therefore it is not only honest⁴, but due unto me, that without compulsion I should obtain my so just and reasonable request of thee. But since by reason I cannot persuade thee to it, to what

¹ sole.² recorded as.³ an honour.⁴ honourable.

* so ed. 1603;
universally
in ed. 1612.
⁵ from.

Coriolanus' compassion of his mother.
¹ lifted.

² removed his camp.

Coriolanus withdraweth his army from Rome.

³ were displeased with.
⁴ others.

⁵ opposed.

⁶ valour.

⁷ at once.

⁸ thoroughly.

⁹ urgent.

The temple of Fortune built for the women.

purpose do I defer my last hope?" And with these words, he self, his wife, and children fell down upon their knees before him. Martius, seeing that, could refrain no longer, but went straight and lift¹ her up, crying out, "Oh mother, what have you done to me?" And holding her hard by the right hand, "Oh mother," said he, "you have won a happy victory for your country but mortal and unhappy for your son: for I see myself vanquished by you alone." These words being spoken openly, he spake a little apart with his mother and wife, and then let them return again to Rome, for so they did request him; and so remaining in camp that night, the next morning he dislodged² and marched homeward into the Volscies' country again, who were not all of one mind, nor all alike contented. For some misliked³ him and that he had done: other⁴, being well pleased that peace should be made, said that neither the one nor the other deserved blame nor reproach. Other⁴, though they misliked³ that was done, did not think him an ill man for that he did, but said he was not to be blamed, though he yielded to such a forcible extremity. Howbeit no man contraried⁵ his departure, but all obeyed his commandment, more for respect to his worthiness and valiancy⁶ than for fear of his authority.

20. Now the citizens of Rome plainly shewed in what fear and danger their city stood of this war, when they were delivered For so soon as the watch upon the walls of the city perceived the Volscies' camp to remove, there was not a temple in the city but was presently⁷ set open, and full of men wearing garlands of flowers upon their heads, sacrificing to the gods, as they went to do upon the news of some great obtained victory. And this common joy was yet more manifestly shewed by the honourable courtesies the whole Senate and people did bestow on their ladies. For they were all thoroughly⁸ persuaded, and did certainly believe, that the ladies only were cause of the saving of the city and delivering themselves from the instant⁹ danger of the war. Whereupon the Senate ordained that the magistrates to gratify and honour these ladies, should grant them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of Fortune for the women, unto the building whereof they offered themselves to defray the whole charge of the sacrifices and other ceremonies belonging to the service of the gods. Nevertheless the Senate, commending their goodwill and forwardness, ordained that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the city. Notwithstanding that

the ladies gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of Fortune, which the Romans say did speak as they offered her up in the temple and did set her in her place : and they affirm, that she spake these words: "Ladies, ye have devoutly offered me up." Moreover, that she spake that twice together : making us to believe things that never were, and are not to be credited. For to see images that seem to sweat or weep, or to put forth any humour red or bloody, it is not a thing impossible¹. For wood and stone do commonly receive certain moisture, whereof are ingendered humours, which do yield of themselves, or do take of the air, many sorts and kinds of spots and colours : by which signs and tokens it is not amiss, me think, that the gods sometimes do warn men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues do sometimes put forth sounds like unto sighs or mourning, when in the midst or bottom of the same there is made some violent separation or breaking asunder of things blown or devised therein: but that a body which hath neither life nor soul should have any direct or exquisite² words formed in it by express voice, that is altogether impossible¹. For the soul nor God himself can distinctly speak without a body, having necessary organs and instruments meet for the parts of the same, to form and utter distinct words. But where stories many times do force us to believe a thing reported to be true, by many grave testimonies : there we must say, that it is some passion contrary to our five natural senses, which being begotten in the imaginative part or understanding draweth an opinion unto itself, even as we do in our sleeping. For many times we think we hear that we do not hear, and we imagine we see that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent and zealously given to think on heavenly things, so as they can no way be drawn from believing that which is spoken of them, they have this reason to ground the foundation of their belief upon ; that is, the omnipotency³ of God, which is wonderful, and hath no manner of resemblance or likeness of proportion unto ours, but is altogether contrary, as touching our nature, our moving, our art, and our force : and therefore, if he do any thing impossible¹ to us, or do bring forth and devise things above man's common reach and understanding, we must not therefore think it impossible¹ at all. For if in other things he is far contrary to us, much more in his works and secret operations he far passeth all the rest : but the most part of God's doings, as Heraclitus saith, for lack of faith, are hidden and unknown unto us.

The image of Fortune spake to the ladies at Rome.

¹ impossible.

Of the sweating and voices of images.

² exact, distinct.

Of the omnipotency of God.

³ omnipotence.

Tullus Aufidius seeketh to kill Coriolanus.

¹ demanded that.

² defence.
³ most honourable.

⁴ innocence.

⁵ procure.
⁶ owed.

⁷ guidance.
⁸ intention.
⁹ mutinying.

21. Now when Martius was returned again into the city of Antium from his voyage, Tullus, that hated and could no longer abide him for the fear he had of his authority, sought diverse means to make him away; thinking, if he let slip that present time, he should never recover the like and fit occasion again. Wherefore Tullus, having procured many other of his confederacy, required¹ Martius might be deposed from his estate, to render up account to the Volsces of his charge and government. Martius, fearing to become a private man again under Tullus being general (whose authority was greater otherwise than any other among all the Volsces), answered: he was willing to give up his charge, and would resign it into the hands of the lords of the Volsces, if they did all command him, as by all their commandment he received it. And moreover, that he would not refuse even at that present to give up an account unto the people, if they would tarry the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common council, in which assembly there were certain orators appointed that stirred up the common people against him: and when they had told their tales, Martius rose up to make them answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people made a marvellous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reverence they bare unto his valiantness, they quieted themselves, and gave him audience to allege with leisure what he could for his purgation². Moreover, the honestest³ men of the Antiates, and who most rejoiced in peace, shewed by their countenance that they would hear him willingly and judge also according to their conscience. Whereupon Tullus, fearing that, if he did let him speak, he would prove his innocence⁴ to the people, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue; besides that the first good service he had done to the people of the Volsces did win him more favour than these last accusations could purchase⁵ him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge was a testimony of the goodwill they ought⁶ him; for they would never have thought he had done them wrong for that they took not the city of Rome, if they had not been very near taking of it by means of his approach and conduction⁷. For these causes Tullus thought he might no longer delay his pretence⁸ and enterprise, neither to tarry for the mutinying⁹ and rising of the common people against him: wherefore those that were of the conspiracy began to cry out that he was not to be heard, and that they would not suffer a traitor to usurp tyrannical power over the tribe of the Volsces, who would not yield up his state

and authority. And in saying these words, they all fell upon him, and killed him in the market-place, none of the people once offering to rescue him.

22. Howbeit it is a clear case, that this murder was not generally consented unto of¹ the most part of the Volsces: for men came out of all parts to honour his body, and did honourably bury him; setting out his tomb with great store of armour and spoils, as the tomb of a worthy person and great captain. The Romans, understanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, saving that they granted the ladies their request they made, that they might mourn ten months for him: and that was the full time they used to wear blacks² for the death of their fathers, brethren, or husbands, according to Numa Pompilius' order who stablished the same, as we have enlarged more amply in the description of his life. Now Martius being dead, the whole state of the Volsces heartily wished him alive again. For, first of all, they fell out with the Æques (who were their friends and confederates) touching preheminance³ and place: and this quarrel grew on so far between them, that frays and murders fell out upon it one with another. After that, the Romans overcame them in battle, in which Tullus was slain in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the sword: so that they were compelled to accept most shameful conditions of peace, in yielding themselves subject unto the conquerors, and promising to be obedient at their commandment.

Coriolanus murdered in the city of Antium.

Coriolanus' funerals.

¹ by.

The time of mourning appointed by Numa.

² mourning.

³ preeminence.

Tullus Aufidius slain in battle.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

ARGUMENT.

1. CÆSAR sides with MARIUS against SYLLA. 2. CÆSAR taken by Pirates. 3. CÆSAR'S eloquence. 4. CICERO'S judgment of CÆSAR. CÆSAR'S funeral oration over his aunt JULIA. 5. CÆSAR sets up images of MARIUS. 6. He is made chief Bishop of Rome. 7. His action in the case of CATILINE'S conspiracy. 8. Intrigue of CLODIUS with CÆSAR'S wife POMPEIA. 9. CÆSAR'S acts in SPAIN. 10. He reconciles POMPEY and CRASSUS. 11. His first consulship and laws. 12. His daughter JULIA is married to POMPEY; he himself marries CALPHURNIA. 13. He sends CATO to prison, and drives CICERO out of Italy. 14. His conquests in GAUL. 15. The valour of ACILIUS, CASSIUS SCÆVA, and GRANIUS PETRONIUS. 16. Description of CÆSAR'S valour, bounty, health, and habits. 17. His first war with the GAULS, and victory over the HELVETII. 18. His second war, against ARIOVISTUS. 19. He defeats the BELGÆ. 20. He defeats the NERVII. 21. His conference with POMPEY, CRASSUS, and others, at LUCCA. 22. His war against the IPES and TENTERIDES. 23. He makes a bridge over the RHINE. 24. His expedition to ENGLAND. Death of his daughter JULIA. 25. Rebellions of the GAULS, and defeat of VERGINGETORIX. 26. Siege of ALEXIA. 27. Discord between CÆSAR and POMPEY. 28. CÆSAR bribes the magistrates at ROME. 29. He crosses the RUBICON. 30. POMPEY flees to EPIRUS. 31. CÆSAR is made Dictator. His adventure in the pinnace. 32. His ill success in EPIRUS. 33. Battle of PHARSALIA, and defeat of POMPEY. 34. CÆSAR makes CLEOPATRA queen of EGYPT. 35. "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" 36. Adventures in AFRICA, and death of CATO. 37. CÆSAR'S three triumphs. 38. His expedition to SPAIN, against the sons of POMPEY; battle of MUNDA. 39. He is chosen perpetual Dictator. 40. He reforms the Calendar. 41. Feast of the LUPERCALIA. CÆSAR twice refuses the diadem. 42. BRUTUS conspires against him. 43. Prognostics of his death. 44. He is assassinated. 45. Events following his death. 46. Fate of BRUTUS and CASSIUS.

Cæsar joined with Cinna and Marius.

I. AT what time Sylla was made lord of all, he would have had Cæsar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna dictator: but when he saw he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he took her jointure away from him. The cause of Cæsar's ill will unto Sylla was by means of mar-

riage: for Marius the elder married his father's own sister, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Cæsar and he were cousin-germans. Sylla being troubled in weighty matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of Cæsar: and he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and made suit unto the people for the priesthoodship that was void¹, when he had scant² any hair on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by Sylla's means, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sylla told them again, that they did not consider³ that there were many Marians in that young boy. Cæsar understanding that, stole out of Rome, and hid himself a long time in the country of the Sabines, wandering still from place to place. But one day being carried from house to house, he fell into the hands of Sylla's soldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Cæsar bribed the captain, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gave him.

2. After he had escaped them thus, he went unto the sea-side, and took ship, and sailed into Bithynia to go unto king Nicomedes. When he had been with him awhile, he took sea again, and was taken by pirates about the ile⁴ of Pharmacusa: for those pirates kept all upon the sea-coast, with a great fleet of ships and boats. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his ransom, Cæsar laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, and of himself promised them fifty talents. Then he sent his men up and down to get him this money, so that he was left in manner⁵ alone among these thieves of the Cilicians (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his slaves only: and yet he made so little reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleep, he sent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he thirty-eight days among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited upon by them as a prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And otherwhile also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not understood him, or passed⁶ not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beasts; and laughing, threatened them

¹ vacant.² scarcely.³ perceive.

Cæsar took sea and went unto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, Cæsar taken of pirates.
⁴ isle.

⁵ as it were.⁶ cared.

¹ at once.² anchor.³ island.⁴ as for.*Junius Prætor of Asia.*⁵ isle.*Cæsar's eloquence.*

that he would hang them up. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransom was come from the city of Miletum, they being paid their money, and he again set at liberty, he then presently¹ armed and manned certain ships out of the haven of Miletum, to follow those thieves, whom he found yet riding at anchor² in the same island³. So he took the most of them, and had the spoil of their goods; but for⁴ their bodies, he brought them into the city of Pergamus and there committed them to prison, whilst he himself went to speak with Junius, who had the government of Asia, as unto whom the execution of these pirates did belong, for that he was Prætor of that country. But this Prætor, having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it, answered that he would consider of these prisoners at better leisure. Cæsar, leaving Junius there, returned again unto Pergamus, and there hung up all these thieves openly upon a cross, as he had oftentimes promised them in the ile⁵ he would do, when they thought he did but jest.

3. Afterwards when Sylla's power began to decay, Cæsar's friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he sailed first unto Rhodes, to study there a time under Apollonius the son of Molon, whose scholar also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man and an excellent good rhetorician. It is reported, that Cæsar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the people; and besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtless he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be lord of all Rome. And therefore in a book he wrote against that which Cicero made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the readers not to compare the style of a soldier with the eloquence of an excellent orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned again unto Rome, he accused Dolabella for his ill behaviour in the government of his provinces, and he had divers cities of Greece that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cæsar, to

requite the good will of the Grecians which they had shewed him in his accusation of Dolabella, took their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of Macedon : and followed it so hard against him in their behalf, that Antonius was driven to appeal before the tribunes at Rome, alleging, to colour his appeal withal, that he could have no justice in Greece against the Grecians. Now Cæsar immediately wan¹ many men's good wills at Rome, through his eloquence in pleading of their causes, and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein than was looked for² in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal besides : the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies, judging that this favour of the common people would soon quail³, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expense, suffered him to run on, till by little and little he was grown to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatness, and that they could not then pull him back, though indeed in sight⁴ it would turn one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of Rome : too late they found, that there is not so little a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will soon make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatness.

4. Thereupon Cicero, like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmness of the sea, was the first man that, mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloaked under the habit of outward courtesy and familiarity. "And yet," said he, "when I consider how finely he cometh his fair bush of hair, and how smooth it lieth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger only, my mind gives me then, that such a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head, as to overthrow the state of the commonwealth." But this was long time after that. The first shew and proof of the love and goodwill which the people did bear unto Cæsar, was when he sued to be tribune of the soldiers (to wit, colonel of a thousand footmen) standing against Caius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proof than the first, was at the death of his aunt Julia, the

¹ won.

² expected.

Cæsar loved hospitality.

Cæsar a follower of the people.

³ fail.

⁴ it was evident.

Cicero's judgment of Cæsar.

The love of the people in Rome unto Cæsar. Cæsar chosen Tribunus militum.

Cæsar made the funeral oration, at the death of his aunt Julia.

wife of Marius the elder. For being her nephew, he made a solemn oration in the market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to shew forth the images of Marius: the which was the first time that they were seen after Sylla's victory, because that Marius and all his confederates had been proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For when there were some that cried out upon Cæsar for doing of it, the people on the other side kept astir, and rejoiced at it, clapping of their hands; and thanked him, for that he had brought, as it were out of hell, the remembrance of Marius' honour again into Rome, which had so long time been obscured and buried. And where¹ it had been an ancient custom of long time, that the Romans used to make funeral orations in praise of old ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: Cæsar was the first that praised his own wife with funeral oration when she was dead, the which also did increase the people's goodwills the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle nature. After the burial of his wife, he was made treasurer under Antistius Vetus prætor, whom he honoured ever after: so that when himself came to be prætor, he made his son to be chosen treasurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife, Cornelia, which was married unto Pompey the Great.

¹ whereas.

Cæsar the first that praised his wife in funeral oration. Cæsar made Quæstor.

Pompeia Cæsar's third wife.

² because.

³ whereas.

⁴ cheaply.

⁵ expenses.

Cæsar's prodigality.

⁶ wou.

5. Now for that² he was very liberal in expenses, buying (as some thought) but a vain and short glory of the favour of the people, (where³ indeed he bought good cheap⁴ the greatest things that could be:) some say, that before he bare any office in the commonwealth, he was grown in debt, to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made overseer of the work for the highway called Appius' way, he disbursed a great sum of his own money towards the charges⁵ of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did shew the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of sword-players, and did besides exceed all other in sumptuousness in the sports and common feasts, which he made to delight them withal, and did as it were drown all the stately shews of others in the like, that had gone before him, he so pleased the people and wan⁶ their love therewith, that they devised daily to give him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of Sylla, which was very strong and of great power;

and the other of Marius, which then was under foot, and durst not shew itself. But Cæsar, because he would renew it again, even at that time when, he being Ædilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruff¹, he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs; and those he set up one night within the capitol. The next morning, when every man saw the glistening of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the Cimbres, every one marvelled much at the boldness of him that durst set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran straight through all the city, and every man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Cæsar, and said, it was a tyranny which he meant to set up, by renewing of such honours as before had been trodden under foot and forgotten by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a bait to gauge the people's good wills, which he had set out in the stately shews of his common plays, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such parts to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius' faction on the other side, encouraging one another, shewed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitol ring again with their cries and clapping of hands: insomuch as the tears ran down many of their cheeks, for very joy, when they saw the images of Marius, and they extolled Cæsar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kindred² of Marius. The Senate being assembled thereupon, Catulus Luctatius, one of the greatest authority at that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inveighed against Cæsar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much: that Cæsar did not now covertly go to work, but by plain force sought to alter the state of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, Cæsar at that time answered him so, that the Senate was satisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope than before, and persuaded him, that hardily³ he should give place to no man, and that through the goodwill of the people he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the city.

6. At that time the chief bishop Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the city, and of the greatest authority (Isauricus and Catulus), contended for his room⁴: Cæsar, not-

¹ height.

Cæsar accused to make a rebellion in the state.

² kindred.

³ boldly.

The death of Metellus chief Bishop of Rome.
⁴ place.

withstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suit for it as they did. The suit being equal betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election, sent unto Cæsar a good sum of money, to make him leave off his suit. But Cæsar sent him word again, that he would lend a greater sum than that, to maintain the suit against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the door of his house, Cæsar, weeping, kissed her, and said: "Mother, this day thou shalt see thy son chief Bishop of Rome, or banished from Rome." In fine¹, when the voices of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Cæsar won² the victory, and made the Senate and noblemen all afraid of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Piso fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him for that he did not bewray³ Cæsar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline, and had opportunity to have done it.

7. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not only to overthrow the state of the commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the Empire of Rome, he escaped out of the hands of justice for lack of sufficient proof, before his full treason and determination was known. Notwithstanding, he left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, companions of his conspiracy: unto whom, whether Cæsar did give any secret help or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest, that when they were convinced⁴ in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Consul, asking every man's opinion in the Senate what punishment they should have, and every one of them, till it came to Cæsar, gave sentence they should die: Cæsar then rising up to speak, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and said, that it was neither lawful, nor yet their custom did bear it, to put men of such nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawful inditement⁵ and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some city of Italy, where Cicero thought best, until that Catiline were overthrown, the Senate then might at their pleasure quickly take such order⁶ therein, as might appear best unto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withal was uttered with such a passing⁷ good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to speak after him did approve it; but such also as had spoken to the contrary,

¹ Finally.

² won.
*Cæsar made
chief Bishop
of Rome.
³ betray.
Cæsar
suspected to
be confeder-
ate with
Catiline in
his con-
spiracy,*

⁴ convicted.

*Cæsar went
about to de-
liver the
conspirators.*

⁵ indictment.

⁶ so decide.

⁷ surpassing.

before, revoked their opinion, and stuck to his, until it came to Cato and Catulus to speak. They both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Cæsar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, insomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. Cæsar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men which guarded Cicero for the safety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawn. But some say, that Curio covered Cæsar with his gown, and took him out of their hands. And Cicero self, when the young men looked upon him, beckoned with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shameful and wicked a part. But if that were true, I marvel why Cicero did not put it into his book he wrote of his consulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he took not the opportunity offered him against Cæsar, only for overmuch fear of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Cæsar went into the Senate, to clear himself of certain presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the council-house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then, fearing the insurrection of the poor needy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Cæsar, and did also move the people to stir, did persuade the Senate to make a frank¹ distribution of corn unto them, for a month. This distribution did put the commonwealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty myriads². This counsel quenched a present great fear, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Cæsar's force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he never sought any alteration in the commonwealth; but contrarily³, he himself had a great misfortune fell on his house, which was this.

8. There was a young nobleman of the order of the Patricians, called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence; but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person as any was else in Rome. He became in love with Pompeia Cæsar's wife, who misliked not withal: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to⁴, and Aurelia (Cæsar's mother) an honest gentlewoman, had such an eye of⁵ her, that these two

Cato's oration against Cæsar.

¹ free.

² sums of
10,000 drach-
mæ.

³ on the con-
trary.

*The love of P.
Clodius un-
to Pompeia,
Cæsar's wife.
The good
goddess,
what she
was, and her
sacrifices.*

⁴ strictly
watched.
⁵ upon.

lovers could not meet as they would, without great peril and difficulty. The Romans do use to honour a goddess which they call the good goddess, as the Grecians have her whom they call Gynæcia, to wit, the goddess of women. Her, the Phrygians do claim to be peculiar unto them, saying: that she is king Midas' mother. Howbeit the Romans hold opinion, that it is a nymph of the woods married unto the god Faunus. The Grecians, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proof hereof, on her feast-day, the women make certain tabernacles of vine-twigs, and leaves of vine-branches; and also they make, as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddess, and do set it by her: besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no, not within the house itself where they are made. Furthermore they say, that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst themselves, much like unto the ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Prætor or Consul) and all his men and the boys in the house, do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order¹ the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most² part of the night, and they do besides pass the night away in songs and music. Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, being that year to celebrate this feast, Clodius, who had yet no hair on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed³, disguised himself in a singing wench's apparel, because his face was very like unto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chamber-maid that was made privy unto it, she left him, and ran to Pompeia her mistress, to tell her that he was come. The chamber-maid tarried long before she came again, insomuch as Clodius, being weary waiting for her where she left him, he took his pleasure and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large rooms in it, still shunning the light; and was by chance met withal⁴ by one of Aurelia's maids, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was; Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra, one of Pompeia's women. So Aurelia's maid, knowing him by his voice, ran straight where the lights and ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in woman's apparel. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently⁵ to leave off the ceremonies of the

¹ arrange.² greatest.³ betrayed.⁴ with.⁵ at once.

sacrifice, and to hide their secret things; and having seen the gates fast locked, went immediately up and down the house with torch-light to seek out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of Pompeia's maid, with whom he hid himself. Thus Clodius being found out, and known of the women, they thrust him out of the doors by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as soon as they came home. The next morning, there ran a great rumour through the city, how Clodius had attempted a great villany, and that he deserved not only to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the tribunes of the people that did indite¹ him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobility and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his own sister, which was married unto Lucullus. Notwithstanding the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations: and this did help him much against the judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stir the people. This notwithstanding, Cæsar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius' accuser to be a witness against him, he answered, he knew nothing of² that they objected against Clodius. This answer being clean contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Cæsar, why then he had put away his wife: "Because I will not," said he, "that my wife be so much as suspected." And some say that Cæsar spake truly as he thought. But others think that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the judges gave a confused judgment, for the fear they stood in one way of the danger of the common people, if they condemned him, and for the ill opinion on the other side of the nobility, if they did quit³ him.

9. The government of the province of Spain being fallen unto Cæsar, for that he was Prætor, his creditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be paid. Cæsar, being unable to satisfy them, was compelled to go unto Crassus, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of Cæsar's boldness and courage to withstand Pompey's greatness in the commonwealth. Crassus became his surety unto his greediest creditors for the sum of eight hundred and thirty

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddess.

¹ indict.

Clodius accused for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess

Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.
² about.

Clodius quit by the judges for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.

³ acquit.

Cæsar Prætor of Spain.

Crassus surety for Cæsar to his creditors.

talents : whereupon they suffered Cæsar to depart to the government of his province. In this journey it is reported, that passing over the mountains of the Alps, they came through a little poor village that had not many households, and yet poor cottages. There his friends that did accompany him asked him merrily, if there were any contending for offices in that town, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noblemen for honour. Cæsar speaking in good earnest, answered : " I cannot tell that," said he, " but for my part I had rather be the chiefest man here than the second person in Rome." Another time also when he was in Spain, reading the history of Alexander's acts, when he had read it, he was sorrowful a good while after, and then burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He answered them, " Do ye not think," said he, " that I have good cause to be heavy, when king Alexander, being no elder¹ than myself is now, had in old time won so many nations and countries : and that I hitherunto have done nothing worthy of myself?" Therefore when he was come into Spain, he was very careful of his business, and had in few days joined ten new ensigns² more of footmen unto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the Callecians and Lusitanians, he conquered all, and went as far as the great sea Oceanum, subduing all the people which before knew not the Romans for their lords. There he took order³ for pacifying of the war, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suits of law and strife betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearly two parts of the revenue of their debtors, until such time as they had paid themselves : and that the debtors should have the third part themselves to live withal.

10. He having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his government very rich, and his soldiers also full of rich spoils, who called him Imperator, to say⁴, sovereign Captain. Now the Romans having a custom, that such as demanded honour of triumph should remain a while without the city, and that they on the other side which sued for the Consulship should of necessity be there in person : Cæsar coming unhappily⁵ at the very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that favour, that,

¹ older.*Cæsar's acts in Spain.*² regiments.³ arranged.*Cæsar's order between the creditor and the debtor.**Cæsar's soldiers called him Imperator.*⁴ that is.⁵ unluckily.

being absent, he might by his friends sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching¹ an express law to the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alleged, many of the Senators (being won by Cæsar) favoured his request, yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time, in dilating his oration until night. Cæsar thereupon determined rather to give over the suit of his triumph, and to make suit for the Consulship: and so came into the city, and had such a device with him, as went beyond them all but Cato only. His device was this: Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of Rome being at jar² together, Cæsar made them friends, and by that means got unto himself the power of them both, for by colour³ of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtilly (unawares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey and Cæsar, as many men thought, that caused the civil war: but rather it was their agreement together, who joined all their powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and nobility, and afterwards they fell at jar² one with another. But Cato, that then foresaw and prophecied many times what would follow, was taken but for a vain man: but afterwards they found him a wiser man than happy⁴ in his counsel.

II. Thus Cæsar, being brought unto the assembly of the election, in the midst⁵ of these two noble persons whom he had before reconciled together, he was there chosen Consul with Calphurnius Bibulus, without gainsaying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entered into his office, he began to put forth laws meeter for a seditious Tribune of the people than for a Consul: because by them he preferred the division of lands, and distributing of corn to every citizen gratis, to please them withal. But when the noblemen of the Senate were against his device, he, desiring no better occasion⁶, began to cry out and to protest, that by the overhardness and austerity of the Senate, they drove⁷ him against his will to lean unto the people: and thereupon, having Crassus on the one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them openly in the assembly, if they did give their consent unto the laws which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatened him with force of sword to let⁸ him. Crassus gave him his word, he would; Pompey also did the like, and added thereunto, that he

¹ citing.

² strife.
Cæsar reconciled Pompey and Crassus together.
³ under cover.

Cato's foresight and prophecy.
⁴ fortunate.

Cæsar's first Consulship with Calphurnius Bibulus.
⁵ midst.

Cæsar's laws. Lex agraria.

⁶ opportunity.

⁷ drove.

⁸ hinder.

¹ shield.² unbecoming.

Cæsar married his daughter Julia to Pompey.

³ affianced.
Cæsar married Calphurnia the daughter of Piso.
⁴ himself.

Pompey by force of arms authorized Cæsar's laws.

Cæsar sent Cato to prison.

⁵ could not put up with.

would come with his sword and target¹ both, against them that would withstand him with their swords. These words offended much the Senate, being far unmeet for his gravity, and undecent² for the majesty and honour he carried, and most of all uncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should have revered: and were speeches fitter for a rash light-headed youth, than for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other side, they rejoiced.

12. Then Cæsar, because he would be more assured of Pompey's power and friendship, he gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, which was made sure before unto Servilius Cæpio, and promised him in exchange Pompey's daughter, who was sure³ also unto Faustus, the son of Sylla. And shortly after also, Cæsar self⁴ did marry Calphurnia, the daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next year following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witness, that it was a shameful matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make havoc of the Empire of Rome, by such horrible bawdy matches, distributing among themselves, through those wicked marriages, the governments of the provinces, and of great armies. Calphurnius Bibulus, fellow-Consul with Cæsar, perceiving that he did contend in vain, making all the resistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slain with Cato in the market-place and assembly; he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulship. When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all the market-place with soldiers, and by open force authorized the laws which Cæsar made in the behalf of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Cæsar had Gaul on this side and beyond the Alps, and all Illyria, with four legions granted him for five years.

13. Then Cato standing up to speak against it, Cæsar bad his officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have appealed unto the Tribunes. But Cato said never a word, when he went his way. Cæsar perceiving then, that not only the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people also, for the reverence they bare unto Cato's virtues, were ashamed, and went away with silence; he himself secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate under him, but left the city, because they could not away with⁵ his doings.

And of them there was an old man called Considius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to council because they were afraid of his soldiers. Cæsar answered him again: "and why then dost not thou keep thee at home, for the same fear?" Considius replied, "because my age taketh away fear from me: for having so short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it further." The shamefullest part that Cæsar played while he was Consul seemeth to be this: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife such dishonour, and profaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his own house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero: and Cæsar self also departed not from Rome to his army before he had set them together by the ears, and driven Cicero out of Italy.

*Cæsar, by
Clodius,
drave Cicero
out of Italy.*

14. All these things they say he did before the wars with the Gauls. But the time of the great armies and conquests he made afterwards, and of the war in the which he subdued all the Gauls (entering into another course of life far contrary unto the first) made him to be known for as valiant a soldier and as excellent a captain to lead men, as those that afore him had been counted the wisest and most valiant generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had achieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the house of the Fabians, of the Scipios, of the Metellians, yea, those also of his own time, or long before him, as Sylla, Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey self:

*Cæsar a
valiant
soldier, and
a skilful
captain.*

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens:

it will appear that Cæsar's prowess and deeds of arms did excel them all together. The one¹, in the hard countries where he made wars: another², in enlarging the realms and countries which he joined unto the Empire of Rome: another, in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he overcame: another, in the rudeness and austere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he softened and made civil: another, in courtesy and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed unto them that served under him in those wars: and in fine³, he excelled them all in the number of battles he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had slain in battle. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul he took by force and assault above eight hundred towns: he conquered three hundred several nations: and having before him in battle thirty hundred thousand

¹ first.

² again.

³ lastly.

*Cæsar's con-
quests in
Gaul.*

The love and respect of Cæsar's soldiers unto him.

The wonderful valiantness of Acilius, Cassius Scæva, and divers others of Cæsar's soldiers.

¹ boarding.

² shield.

³ won.

⁴ marsh.

⁵ drove.

⁶ lost.

Granius Petronius.

⁷ aboard

soldiers, at sundry times, he slew ten hundred thousand of them, and took as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloved of his soldiers, that to do him service (where otherwise they were no more than other men in any private quarrel) if Cæsar's honour were touched, they were invincible, and would so desperately venture themselves and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them.

15. And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius: who in a battle by sea before the city of Marseilles, bording¹ one of his enemies' ships; one cut off his right hand with a sword; but yet he forsook not his target² which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies' faces, and made them fly, so that he wan³ their ship from them. And Cassius Scæva also, in a conflict before the city of Dyrrachium, having one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, and having received thirty arrows upon his shield, he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yield unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he clave one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turn his back, and at the length saved himself, by means of his companions that came to help him. And in Britain also, when the captains of the bands were driven into a marrish⁴ or bog full of mire and dirt, and that the enemies did fiercely assail them there, Cæsar then standing to view the battle, he saw a private soldier of his thrust in among the captains, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave⁵ the barbarous people to fly, and by his means saved the captains, which otherwise were in great danger to have been cast away⁶. Then this soldier, being the hindmost man of all the captains, marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half swimming and half on foot, in the end got to the other side, but left his shield behind him. Cæsar, wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him. But the poor soldier hanging down his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell down at Cæsar's feet, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And in Africa also, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, and Granius Petronius aboard⁷ on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurer; he put all the rest to the sword but him, and said he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him again, that Cæsar's soldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give

others their lives: and with these words he drew his sword, and thrust himself through.

16. Now Cæsar's self did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifully, and did honour them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heap up riches in the wars to maintain his life afterwards in wantonness and pleasure, but that he did keep it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service: and that by so much he thought himself rich, by how much he was liberal in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantness in putting himself at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreme pains as he did, knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he always continued all labour and hardness¹, more than his body could bear, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and soft-skinned, and often subject to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sickness² (the which took him the first time, as it is reported, in Corduba, a city of Spain:) but yet therefore yielded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak to cherish him withal, but contrarily, took the pains of war as a medicine to cure his sick body, fighting always with his disease, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do something: and in the day-time he would travel up and down the country to see towns, castles, and strong places. He had always a secretary with him in the coach, who did still⁴ write as he went by the way, and a soldier behind him that carried his sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office, that in eight days he came to the River of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse upon the spur. In his wars in Gaul, he did further exercise himself to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy⁵ two secretaries at once with as much as they could write: and, as Oppius writeth, more than two at a time. As it is reported, that Cæsar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing cyphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from Rome. How little account Cæsar made of his

¹ hardship.

*Cæsar had
the falling
sickness.
² epilepsy.*

³ on the contrary.

⁴ continually.

⁵ employ.

The temperance of

*Cæsar in
his diet.*
¹ asparagus.
² salad-oil.

*Cæsar's civi-
lity not to
blame his
friend.*
³ etc.

⁴ eaves.

⁶ to.

⁶ yielded not.

*The Tiguri-
nians slain
by Labienus.
Arax fl.*

⁷ array.
*Cæsar re-
fused his
horse when
he fought a
battle.*

⁸ fort.

*The Helve-
tians slain
by Cæsar.*

diet, this example doth prove it. Cæsar stopping one night in Milan with his friend Valerius Leo, there was served sperage¹ to his board, and oil of perfume put into it instead of sallet-oil². He simply eat³ it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had been enough for them to have abstained to eat of that they misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manners that found fault with his friend. Another time, as he travelled through the country, he was driven by foul weather on the sudden to take a poor man's cottage, that had but one little cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him: "Greatest rooms are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the sickest persons." And thereupon he called Oppius that was sick to lie there all night: and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without doors, under the easing⁴ of the house.

17. The first war that Cæsar made with the Gauls, was with the Helvetians and Tigurinians, who having set fire on⁵ all their good cities, to the number of twelve, and four hundred villages besides, came to invade that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, unto whom for valiantness they gave no place⁶: and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand souls in all) whereof there were an hundred four score and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not Cæsar himself that overcame the Tigurinians, but Labienus his lieutenant, that overthrew them by the river of Arax. But the Helvetians themselves came suddenly with their army to set upon him, as he was going towards a city of his confederates. Cæsar perceiving that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there did set his men in battle ray⁷. When one brought him his horse to get upon, which he used in battle, he said unto them: "When I have overcome mine enemies, I will then get upon him to follow the chase, but now let us give them charge." Therewith he marched forward on foot and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them fly that were in battle. But the greatest trouble he had was to distress their camp, and to break their strength⁸ which they had made with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battle did not only put themselves in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wives and children also, fighting for their lives to the death, were all slain, and the

battle was scant¹ ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, unto that he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battle, he gathered together again above an hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to return home into their country which they had forsaken, and unto their towns also which they had burnt: because he feared the Germans would come over the river of Rheyn², and occupy that country lying void.

18. The second war he made, was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans: although before he himself had caused Ariovistus their king to be received for a confederate of the Romans. Notwithstanding, they were grown very unquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that, having any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to invade and possess the rest of Gaul. Cæsar perceiving that some of his captains trembled for fear, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of Rome, who thought³ to have gone to the wars with him as only for their pleasure and gain, he called them to council, and commanded them that were afraid that they should depart home, and not put themselves in danger against their wills, sith⁴ they had such womanish faint hearts, to shrink when he had need of them. And for himself, he said, he would set upon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion only, saying that the enemies were no valianter than the Cimbri had been, nor that he was a captain inferior unto Marius. This oration being made, the soldiers of the tenth legion sent their lieutenants unto him, to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out⁵ with their captains, and all of them together followed him many days' journey with good will to serve him, until they came within two hundred furlongs of the camp of the enemies. Ariovistus' courage was well cooled, when he saw Cæsar was come, and that the Romans came to seek out the Germans; where⁶ they thought, and made account, that they durst not have abidden⁷ them: and therefore, nothing⁸ mistrusting it would have come so to pass, he wondered much at Cæsar's courage, and the more when he saw his own army in a maze⁹ withal. But much more did their courage fall, by reason of the foolish women-prophe-siers they had amongst them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the

¹ scarcely.² The Rhine.*Rhenus fr. Cæsar made war with king Ariovistus.*³ intended.⁴ since.⁵ disagreed.⁶ since.⁷ stood against.⁸ in no wise.⁹ perplexity. *The wise women of Germany; how they did foretell*

*things to
come.*

*King Ario-
vistus over-
thrown by
Cæsar.*

terrible noise they made running down the stream, did forewarn them not to fight until the new moon. Cæsar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with this superstitious fear, rather than, losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their forts and little hills where they lay, and by this means provoked them so, that with great fury they came down to fight. There he overcame them in battle, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlongs, even unto the river of Rheyn: and he filled all the fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoils. Howbeit Ariovistus, flying with speed, got over the river of Rheyn, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there were slain fourscore thousand persons at this battle.

¹ contrive.

² inter-
changeably.

³ won.

⁴ warned.

⁵ most war-
like.

⁶ army.

*The Belgæ
overcome by
Cæsar.*

⁷ troop.

19. After this exploit, Cæsar left his army amongst the Sequanes to winter there: and he himself in the meantime, thinking of the affairs at Rome, went over the mountains into Gaul about the river of Po, being part of his province which he had in charge. For there the river called Rubico divideth the rest of Italy from Gaul on this side of the Alps. Cæsar lying there, did practise¹ to make friends in Rome, because many came thither to see him: unto whom he granted their suits they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all this conquest of the Gauls, Pompey did not consider how Cæsar interchangeably² did conquer the Gauls with the weapons of the Romans, and wan³ the Romans again with the money of the Gauls. Cæsar, being advertised⁴ that the Belgæ (which were the warlike⁵ men of all the Gauls, and that occupied the third part of Gaul) were all up in arms, and had raised a great power⁶ of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoiling and overrunning the country of the Gauls, their neighbours, and confederates of the Romans. So he gave them battle, and they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them, which were in a troupe⁷ together; and slew such a number of them, that the Romans passed over deep rivers and lakes on foot, upon their dead bodies, the rivers were so full of them.

20. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the seaside, and were next neighbours unto the Ocean, did yield themselves without any compulsion or fight: whereupon he led

his army against the Nervians, the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ. They, dwelling in the wood country, had conveyed their wives, children, and goods into a marvellous great forest, as far from their enemies as they could; and being about the number of six score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Cæsar, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his camp, little looking¹ to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake² the horsemen of the Romans, and compassing in the twelfth and seventh legion, they slew all the centurions and captains of the bands. And had not Cæsar self³ taken his shield on his arm, and, flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion also, seeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the hill where they stood in battle, and broken the ranks of their enemies, there had not a Roman escaped alive that day. But taking example of Cæsar's valiantness, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the Nervians fly, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in a manner⁴ slain in the field. It is written that of threescore thousand fighting men, there escaped only but five hundred: and of four hundred gentlemen and counsellors of the Romans, but three saved. The Senate understanding it at Rome, ordained that they should do sacrifice unto the gods, and keep feasts and solemn processions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like ordinance at Rome for any victory that ever was obtained: because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, so many nations rising as they did in arms together against him: and further, the love of the people unto him made his victory much more famous.

¶ 21. For when Cæsar had set his affairs at a stay⁵ in Gaul, on the other side of the Alps, he always used to lie about the river of Po in the winter time, to give direction for the establishing of things at Rome at his pleasure. For not only they that made suit for offices at Rome were chosen Magistrates, by means of Cæsar's money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office did all that they could to increase Cæsar's power and greatness: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the nobility went into Lucca unto him; as⁶ Pompey, Crassus, Appius, Prætor of Sardinia, and Nepos, Proconsul in Spain. Insomuch that there were at one time

Nervii the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ.

¹ expecting.

² broke.

³ himself.

The Nervii slain by Cæsar.

⁴ as it were.

⁵ in order.

The great lords of Rome came to Lucca to Cæsar.

⁶ as, for instance.

sixscore sergeants carrying rods and axes before the Magistrates; and above two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassus should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore they did appoint, that Cæsar should have money again delivered him to pay his army; and besides, did prorogue the time of his government five years further. This was thought a very strange and an unreasonable matter unto wise men; for they themselves that had taken so much money of Cæsar, persuaded the Senate to let him have money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea, to speak more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, sighing and lamenting to see the decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Cyprus. Howbeit Faonius, that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not prevail nor withstand them, he went out of the Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the people that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reverence they bare unto Pompey and Crassus; and others, favouring Cæsar's proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselves, and stirred not.

22. Then Cæsar, returning into Gaul beyond the Alps unto his army, found there a great war in the country. For two great nations of Germany had not long before passed over the river of Rheyn¹, to conquer new lands: and the one of these people were called Ipes, and the other Tenterides. Now touching the battle which Cæsar fought with them, he himself doth describe it in his Commentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous people having sent ambassadors unto him to require² peace for a certain time, they notwithstanding, against the law of arms, came and set upon him as he travelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of arms overthrew five thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted³ their coming. Again, that they sent him other ambassadors to mock him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith⁴ caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly and madness to keep faith with such traitorous barbarous breakers of leagues. Canutius writeth, that the Senate appointing again to do new sacrifice, processions, and feasts, to give thanks to the gods for this victory, Cato was of contrary opinion, that Cæsar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous

¹ Rhine.

*Ipes and
Tenterides,
people of
Germany.*

² ask for.

*Cæsar's
horsemen
put to flight.*

³ nowise
suspected.

⁴ thereupon.

people, for to purge their city and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turn the curse upon him that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came over the Rheyn¹ (being about the number of four hundred thousand persons) they were all in manner² slain, saving a very few of them, that flying from the battle got over the river of Rheyn again, who were received by the Sicambrians, another people of the Germans.

*The Ipes
and Tenter-
ides slain by
Cæsar.
1 Rhine,
2 as it were.
Sicambri, a
people of the
Germans.*

23. Cæsar taking this occasion against them, lacking no goodwill of himself besides, to have the honour to be counted the first Roman that ever passed over the river of Rheyn with an army, he built a bridge over it. This river is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury; and in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one side to the other: and it hath so strong and swift a stream besides, that men casting down great bodies of trees into the river (which the stream bringeth down with it) did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those trees, and also to break the fury of the stream, he made a pile of great wood above the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ram them into the bottom of the river; so that in ten days' space he had set up and finished his bridge of the goodliest carpenters' work, and most excellent invention to see to³, that could be possibly thought or devised. Then, passing⁴ over his army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Suevians, which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten themselves with their goods into wonderful⁵ great valleys and bogs, full of woods and forests. Now when he had burnt all the country of his enemies, and confirmed a league with the confederates of the Romans, he returned back again into Gaul after he had tarried eighteen days at the most in Germany, on the other side of the Rheyn.

*Cæsar made
a bridge
over the
river of
Rhine.*

³ to behold.

⁴ causing
pass.

⁵ wonder-
fully

*Cæsar's
journey into
England.*

⁶ island.

⁷ habitable.

⁸ next to

24. The journey he made also into England was a noble enterprise and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, and that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make war in that so great and famous island⁶ (which many ancient writers would not believe that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a fable and a lie), and was the first that enlarged the Roman Empire beyond the earth inhabitable⁷. For twice he passed over the narrow sea against⁸ the firm land of

¹ enrich.² from.³ warned.
*The death
of Julia
Cæsar's
daughter.*⁴ unstable.⁶ more.*The rebel-
lion of the
Gauls.*
⁶ try.*Cotta, and
Titurius,
with their
army, slain.*⁷ at once.

Gaul, and fighting many battles there, did hurt his enemies more than enrich¹ his own men: because, of² men hardly brought up and poor there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon the war had no such success as he looked for, and therefore, taking pledges only of the King, and imposing a yearly tribute upon him, to be paid unto the people of Rome, he returned again into Gaul. There he was no sooner landed, but he found letters ready to be sent over the sea unto him: in the which he was advertised³ from Rome of the death of his daughter, that she was dead with child by Pompey. For the which Pompey and Cæsar both were marvellous sorrowful: and their friends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the commonwealth (that otherwise was very tickle⁴) in good peace and concord, was now severed and broken asunder; and the rather⁵ likely, because the child lived not long after the mother. So the common people at Rome took the corpse of Julia, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of Mars.

25. Now Cæsar, being driven to divide his army (that was very great) in sundry garrisons for the winter-time, and returning again into Italy as he was wont, all Gaul rebelled again, and had raised great armies in every quarter to set upon the Romans, and to assay⁶ if they could distress their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of these Gauls that entered into action of rebellion, were led by one Ambiorix: and first did set upon the garrisons of Cotta and Titurius, whom they slew, and all the soldiers they had about them. Then they went with threescore thousand fighting men to besiege the garrisons which Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the soldiers were every man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and courageous, that they did more than men (as they say) in defending of themselves. These news being come to Cæsar, who was far from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speed, and leaving seven thousand soldiers, made haste to help Cicero that was in such distress. The Gauls that did besiege Cicero, understanding of Cæsar's coming, raised their siege incontinently⁷, to go and meet him: making account that he was but a handful in their hands, they were so few. Cæsar, to deceive them, still drew back, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meet for a captain that had but a few to fight with a great

number of his enemies; and commanded his men in no wise to stir out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise up the rampiers¹ of his camp, and to fortify the gates as men that were afraid, because² the enemies should the less esteem of them: until at length he took opportunity by their disorderly coming to assail the trenches of his camp, (they were grown to such a presumptuous boldness, and bravery,) and then, sallying out upon them, he put them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the Gauls in those parts, and furthermore he himself in person went in the midst of winter thither, where he heard they did rebel: for that there was come a new supply out of Italy of three whole legions, in their room³ which he had lost: of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other legion he himself had levied in Gaul about the river Po. During these stirs, brake⁴ forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous war that he had in all Gaul, the which had been secretly practised⁵ of long time by the chiefest and most warlike people of that country, who had levied a wonderful great power. For everywhere they levied multitudes of men, and great riches besides, to fortify their strongholds. Furthermore, the country where they rose was very ill to come unto⁶, and specially at that time, being winter; when the rivers were frozen, the woods and forests covered with snow, the meadows drowned with floods, and the fields so deep of snow that no ways were to be found, neither the marrishes⁷ nor rivers to be discerned, all was so overflown⁸ and drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keep Cæsar from setting upon the rebels. Many nations of the Gauls were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the Avernians and Carnutes: who had chosen Vercingetorix for their lieutenant-general, whose father the Gauls before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himself king. This Vercingetorix, dividing his army into divers parts, and appointing divers captains over them, had gotten to take his part all the people and countries thereabouts, even as far as they that dwell towards the sea Adriatick*, having further determined (understanding that Rome did conspire against Cæsar) to make all Gaul rise in arms against him. So that if he had but tarried a little longer, until Cæsar had entered into his civil wars, he had put all Italy in as great fear and danger as it was when the Cimbri did come and invade it. But Cæsar, that was valiant

¹ ramparts.² in order that.*Cæsar slew the Gauls led by Ambiorix.*³ in place of them.⁴ broke.⁵ plotted.*The second rebellion of the Gauls against Cæsar.*⁶ hard of access.⁷ marshes.⁸ overflowed.*Vercingetorix (captain of the rebels against Cæsar.*** Some say, that this place is to be read in the Greek, προς τὸν Ἀραριν, which is, to the river of Soane.*

¹ assaults.² letter-carrier.
³ courier.*The Hedui
rebel against
the Romans.*⁴ sad.^{*} *Sequani.**Vercingen-
torix over-
thrown by
Cæsar.*⁵ himself.⁶ endeavouring.*The siege of
Alicia.
7 impregnable.**Cæsar's dan-
ger, and
wise policy.
8 from with-
out.*

in all assays¹ and dangers of war, and that was very skilful to take time and opportunity, so soon as he understood the news of this rebellion, he departed with speed and returned back the self-same way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know that they should deal with an army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speed he had made with the same in so sharp and hard a winter. For where they would not possibly have believed that a post² or courier³ could have come in so short a time from the place where he was unto them, they wondered when they saw him burning and destroying the country, the towns, and strong forts, where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yielded unto him: until such times as the Hedui took arms against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the Romans, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Cæsar's men, when they understood that they had joined with the rebels, they were marvellous sorry⁴, and half discouraged. Thereupon Cæsar, departing from those parts, went through the country of the Lingones to enter the country of the Burgonians^{*}, who were confederates of the Romans, and the nearest unto Italy on that side, in respect of all the rest of Gaul. Thither the enemies came to set upon him and to environ him on all sides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Cæsar on the other side tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so afraid of him, that at length he overcame the barbarous people. But at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had received some overthrow: for the Arvernians shewed a sword hanged up in one of their temples, which they said they had won from Cæsar. Insomuch as Cæsar self⁵ coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a-laughing at it. But some of his friends going about⁶ to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bad them let it alone and touch it not, for it was an holy thing.

26. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most part of them were gotten with their king into the city of Alexia, the which Cæsar went and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable⁷, both for the height of the walls as also for the multitude of soldiers they had to defend it. But now, during this siege, he fell into a marvellous great danger without⁸, almost incredible. For an army of three hundred thousand fighting men, of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gauls, came against him being at the siege of

Alexia, besides them that were within the city, which amounted to the number of threescore and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to fortify himself with two walls, the one against them of the city, and the other against them without¹. For if those two armies had joined together, Cæsar had been utterly undone. And therefore, this siege of Alexia, and the battle he wan² before it, did deservedly win him more honour and fame than any other. For there, in that instant³ and extreme danger, he shewed more valiantness and wisdom than he did in any battle he fought before. But what a wonderful thing was this! that they of the city never heard anything of them that came to aid them until Cæsar had overcome them: and furthermore, that the Romans themselves, which kept watch upon the wall that was built against the city, knew also no more of it than they, until it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in Alexia, when they perceived on the other side of the city such a number of glistering⁴ shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody corslets and armours, such a deal of plate and moveables, and such a number of tents and pavilions after the fashion of the Gauls, which the Romans had gotten of their spoils in their camp! Thus suddenly was this great army vanished, as a dream or vision: where the most part of them were slain that day in battle. Furthermore, after that they within the city of Alexia had done great hurt to Cæsar and themselves also, in the end they all yielded themselves. And Vercingetorix (he that was their king and captain in all this war) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished⁵ with rich caparison accordingly, and rode round about Cæsar, who sat in his chair of estate. Then lighting from his horse, he took off his caparison and furniture⁶, and unarmed himself, and laid all on the ground, and went and sat down at Cæsar's feet, and said never a word. So Cæsar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the wars, to lead him afterwards in the triumph at Rome.

27. Now Cæsar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the Parthians, who only did see that one of them two must needs fall, nothing kept Cæsar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did anything let⁷ Pompey to withstand that it should not come to pass, but because he did not first overcome

¹ outside.*Cæsar's great victory at Alexia.*² won.³ urgent.⁴ glistering.*Alexia yielded up to Cæsar*
⁵ equipped.⁶ trappings.⁷ prevent.

*The discord
betwixt
Cæsar and
Pompey,
and the
cause of the
civil wars.*
¹ despised.
² since.
*Cæsar's
craftiness.*

³ soon.

⁴ pretext,
excuse.

*The people's
voices bought
at Rome for
money.*

Cæsar, whom only he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but always before set light by ¹ him, thinking it an easy matter for him to put him down when he would, sith ² he had brought him to that greatness he was come unto. But Cæsar contrarily, having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for tricks to overthrow his adversary, he went far from Rome, to exercise himself in the wars of Gaul; where he did train his army, and presently ³ by his valiant deeds did increase his fame and honour. By these means became Cæsar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of colour ⁴, which Pompey partly gave him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill government at that time of the commonwealth at Rome. For they that made suit for honour and offices bought the voices of the people with ready money, which they gave out openly to usury, without shame or fear. Thereupon the common people that had sold their voices for money, came to the market-place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voices, but with their bows, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldom times brake up, but the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were slain in the market-place, the city remaining all that time without government of magistrate, like a ship left without a pilot. Insomuch as men of deep judgment and discretion, seeing such fury and madness of the people, thought themselves happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled than with the absolute state of a monarchy and sovereign lord to govern them. Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speak it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth, but by the authority of one man only, that should command them all: and that this medicine must be ministered by the hands of him that was the gentlest physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly underhand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to pass that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator, he persuaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that, contenting himself with that more just and lawful government, he should not covet the other unlawful. The Senate, following his counsel,

did not only make him Consul, but further did prorogue¹ his government of the provinces he had. For he had two provinces, all Spain and Africk, the which he governed by his lieutenants: and further, he received yearly of the common treasure, to pay his soldiers, a thousand talents. Hereupon Cæsar took occasion also to send his men to make suit in his name for the consulship, and also to have the government of his provinces prorogued. Pompey at the first held his peace; but Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Cæsar) withstood them, and, to shame and dishonour him, had much needless speech in matters of weight. Furthermore they took away the freedom from the colonies which Cæsar had lately brought unto the city of Novumcomum in Gaul towards Italy, where Cæsar not long before had lodged them. And moreover, when Marcellus was Consul, he made one of the senators in that city to be whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters: and said, he gave him those marks, that he should know he was no Roman citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell Cæsar of it.

28. After Marcellus' consulship, Cæsar, setting open his coffers of the treasure he had gotten among the Gauls, did frankly give it out amongst the magistrates at Rome, without restraint or spare. First, he set Curio the tribune clear out of debt: and gave also unto Paul the Consul a thousand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable palace by the market-place, called Paul's Basilick, in the place of Fulvius' Basilick. Then Pompey, being afraid of this practice², began openly to procure, both by himself and his friends, that they should send Cæsar a successor: and moreover, he sent unto Cæsar for his two legions of men of war, which he had lent him for the conquest of Gaul. Cæsar sent him them again, and gave every private soldier two hundred and fifty silver drachmas. Now, they that brought these two legions back from Cæsar, gave out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false persuasions and vain hopes, informing him that he was marvellously desired and wished for in Cæsar's camp: and though in Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the governors there did bear him, he could hardly obtain that he desired, yet in Gaul he might assure himself, that all the army was at his commandment. They added further also, that if the soldiers there did once return over the mountains again into Italy, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Cæsar, because he

¹ prolong.

Pompey governed Spain and Africa.

Cæsar sueth the second time to be Consul, and to have his government prorogued.

Cæsar bribeth the magistrates at Rome.

² contrivance.

Pompey abused by flatterers.

wearied them with too much labour and continual fight : and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vain conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation of war, as though he had no occasion to be afraid : but only studied to thwart Cæsar in speech, and to cross¹ the suits he made. Howbeit Cæsar passed not of² all this. For the report went, that one of Cæsar's captains which was sent to Rome to prosecute his suit, being at the Senate-door, and hearing that they denied to prorogue Cæsar's time of government which he sued for, clapping his hand upon his sword, he said : "Sith³ you will not grant it him, this shall give it him." Notwithstanding, the requests that Cæsar propounded carried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay down arms, so that Pompey did the like : and that both of them, as private persons, should come and make suit of their citizens to obtain honourable recompence : declaring unto them that, taking arms from him, and granting them unto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him in⁴ going about to make himself a tyrant, and in the mean time to grant the other means to be a tyrant. Curio making these offers and persuasions openly before the people in the name of Cæsar, he was heard with great rejoicing and clapping of hands, and there were some that cast flowers and nosegays upon him when he went his way, as they commonly use to do unto any man, when he hath obtained victory and won the games. Then Antonius, one of the tribunes, brought a letter sent from Cæsar, and made⁵ it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But Scipio in the Senate, Pompey's father-in-law, made this motion : that if Cæsar did not dismiss his army by a certain day appointed him, the Romans should proclaim him an enemy unto Rome. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismiss his army : but few agreed to that demand. After that again they asked, if they liked that Cæsar should dismiss his army : thereto they all in manner⁶ answered, "Yea, yea." But when Antonius requested again that both of them should lay down arms, then they were all indifferently⁷ of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio did insolently behave himself, and Marcellus also, who cried, that they must use force of arms and not men's opinion against a thief, the Senate rose straight upon it without further determination ; and men changed apparel

¹ thwart.² passed not over.³ Since.*Cæsar's requests unto the Senate.*⁴ of.⁵ caused.⁶ apparently.⁷ impartially.

through the city because of this dissension, as they use¹ to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from Cæsar, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him Gaul that lieth between the mountains of the Alps and Italy and Illyria, with two legions only, and then that he would request nothing else; until he made suit for the second Consulship. Cicero the orator, that was newly come from the government of Cilicia, travailed to reconcile them together, and pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him he would yield to anything he would have him, so he did let him alone with his army. So Cicero persuaded Cæsar's friends to be contented, to take those two provinces, and six thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. Pompey very willingly yielded unto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully drave² Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they themselves gave Cæsar a happy occasion³ and colour⁴ as could be, stirring up his soldiers the more against them, when he shewed them these two noblemen and tribunes of the people, that were driven to fly, disguised like slaves, in a carrier's cart. For they were driven for fear to steal out of Rome, disguised in that manner. Now at that time Cæsar had not in all about him above five thousand footmen and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his army he left on the other side of the mountains, to be brought after him by his lieutenants. So, considering that, for the execution of his enterprise, he should not need so many men of war at the first, but rather, suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with valiantness, taking benefit of the opportunity of time; because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, coming so suddenly when they looked not for him, than he should otherwise distress them, assailing them with his whole army, in giving them leisure to provide further for him: he commanded his captains and lieutenants to go before, without any other armour than their swords, to take the city of Ariminum (a great city of Gaul, being the first city men come to, when they come out of Gaul) with as little bloodshed and tumult as they could possible. Then, committing that force and army he had with him unto Hortensius, one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the sword-players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and, bathing his body a

¹ are wont.² drove.³ opportunity.⁴ excuse.

Antonius and Curio, tribunes of the people, fly from Rome to Cæsar.

¹ all together.

Cæsar's doubtful thoughts at the river of Rubicon.
² halted.

³ inclining.

* The Greek useth this phrase of speech: *Cast the die.*

Cæsar took the city of Ariminum.

Rome in uproar with Cæsar's coming.

little, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merry a while with them whom he had bidden to supper. Then, when it was well forward night, and very dark, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stir, for he would straight come to them again: howbeit he had secretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him; not altogether¹, but some one way, and some another way. He himself in the mean time took a coach he had hired, and made as though he would have gone some other way at the first, but suddenly he turned back again towards the city of Ariminum.

29. When he was come unto the little river of Rubicon, which divided Gaul on this side the Alps from Italy, he stayed² upon a sudden. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to think what an enterprise he took in hand: and his thoughts also fell out more doubtful, when he entered into consideration of the desperateness of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himself, and spake never a word, waving³ sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himself. So did he talk much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio, telling him what mischiefs the beginning of this passage over that river would breed in the world, and how much their posterity, and they that lived after them, would speak of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage all those perilous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises: * "A man can be but once undone; come on," he passed over the river; and when he was come over, he ran with his coach and never stayed, so that before daylight he was within the city of Ariminum, and took it.....The city of Ariminum being taken, and the rumour thereof dispersed through all Italy even as if it had been open war both by sea and land, and as if all the laws of Rome, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same, had been broken up: a man would have said, that not only the men and women for fear, as experience proved at other times, but whole cities themselves, leaving their habitations, fled from one place to another through all Italy. And Rome itself also was immediately filled with the flowing repair of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droves of cattle, that

there was neither officer nor magistrate that could any more command them by authority, neither by any persuasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that Rome had in manner¹ destroyed itself for lack of rule and order. For in all places men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults everywhere, because they that were glad of this trouble could keep in no certain place; but, running up and down the city, when they met with others in divers places that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a city) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come. Pompey himself, who at that time was not a little amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gave him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproved him, and said, that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made Cæsar so great and strong against him and the commonwealth. And other again did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace which Cæsar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Consul to abuse him too much. On the other side, Phaonius spake unto him, and bade him stamp on the ground with his foot: for Pompey being one day in a bravery² in the Senate, said openly: "Let no man take thought³ for preparation of war; for when he listed, with one stamp of his foot on the ground, he would fill all Italy with soldiers." This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of soldiers then⁴ Cæsar: but they would never let him follow his own determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so many examples of fear before him, as if Cæsar had been already at their heels, and had won all: so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madness, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboil⁵) that there was no way but to forsake the city; and thereupon commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tarry there, unless he loved tyranny more than his own liberty and the commonwealth. Thus the Consuls themselves, before they had done their common sacrifices accustomed⁶ at their going out of the city, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the senators, taking their own things in haste such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that always loved Cæsar, whose wits were then so troubled and besides⁷

¹ as it were.² boastful mood.
³ be anxious.⁴ than.⁵ turmoil.
*Pompey
fleeth from
Rome.*⁶ usual.⁷ beside.

themselves with the fear they had conceived, that they also fled, and followed the stream of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But above all things it was a lamentable sight to see the city itself, that in this fear and trouble was left at all adventure, as a ship tossed in storm of sea, forsaken of¹ her pilots and despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the love they bare unto Pompey) to be their natural country, and reckoned Rome no better than Cæsar's camp. At that time also Labienus, who was one of Cæsar's greatest friends, and had been always used as his lieutenant in the wars of Gaul, and had valiantly fought in his cause, he likewise forsook him then, and fled unto Pompey. But Cæsar sent his money and carriage² after him, and then went and encamped before the city of Corfinium, the which Domitius kept with thirty cohorts or ensigns. When Domitius saw he was besieged, he straight thought himself but undone; and despairing of his success, he bade a physician, a slave of his, give him poison. The physician gave him a drink, which he drank, thinking³ to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what clemency and wonderful courtesy Cæsar used unto them he took, repented him then that he had drunk this drink, and began to lament and bewail his desperate resolution taken to die. The physician did comfort him again, and told him that he had taken a drink only to make him sleep, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius rejoiced, and went straight and yielded himself unto Cæsar; who gave him his life, but he notwithstanding stole away immediately and fled unto Pompey. When these news were brought to Rome, they did marvellously rejoice and comfort them that still remained there: and moreover there were of⁴ them that had forsaken Rome, which returned thither again. In the meantime Cæsar did put all Domitius' men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any captains that levied men for Pompey.

30. Now Cæsar, having assembled a great and dreadful power together, went straight where he thought to find Pompey himself. But Pompey tarried not his coming, but fled into the city of Brundisium; from whence he had sent the two Consuls before, with that army he had, unto Dyrrachium: and he himself also went thither afterwards, when he understood that Cæsar was come, as you shall hear more amply hereafter in his life. Cæsar lacked no good will to follow him, but,

¹ by.

*Labienus
forsook
Cæsar, and
fled to Pom-
pey.*

² baggage.

³ expecting.

*Domitius
escaped from
Cæsar, and
fled to Pom-
pey.*

⁴ some of.

*Pompey fled
into
Epirus.*

wanting¹ ships to take the seas, he returned forthwith to Rome: so that in less than threescore days he was lord of all Italy, without any bloodshed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quieter then he looked for, and many senators there also, he courteously intreated² them, and prayed them to send unto Pompey to pacify all matters between them, upon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared Pompey, for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought Cæsar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course³ to colour⁴ his purpose withal. And when Metellus also, one of the tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturn, but told him that it was against the law: "Tush," said he, "time of war, and law, are two⁵ things. If this that I do," quoth he, "do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for war cannot abide this frank and bold speech. But when wars are done, and that we are all quiet again, then thou shalt speak in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing so much my right; for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that have risen against me, and whom I have in my hands." When he had spoken thus unto Metellus, he went to the temple-door where the treasure lay, and, finding no keys there, he caused smiths to be sent for, and made them break open the locks. Metellus thereupon began again to withstand him, and certain men that stood by praised him in his doing: but Cæsar at length, speaking bigly to him, threatened him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, "Young man," quoth he, "thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to do it." That word made Metellus quake for fear, that he got him away roundly⁶; and ever after that Cæsar had all at his commandment for the wars. From thence he went into Spain, to make war with Petreius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants: first to get their armies and provinces into his hands which they governed, that afterwards he might follow Pompey the better, leaving never an enemy behind him. In this journey he was oftentimes himself in danger through the ambushes that were laid for him in divers strange sorts and places, and likely also to have lost all his army for lack of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left⁷ following of Pompey's lieutenants, provoking them to battle and intrenching them in, until he had gotten their camp and armies into

¹ lacking.² treated.³ formal expressions.
⁴ disguise.⁵ i.e. different.
'*Silent leges inter arma.*'*Cæsar taketh money out of the temple of Saturn.*⁶ speedily.
*Cæsar's journey into Spain, against Pompey's lieutenants.*⁷ ceased from.

his hands, albeit that the lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey. When Cæsar returned again to Rome, Piso his father-in-law gave him counsel to send ambassadors unto Pompey, to treat for peace. But Isauricus, to flatter Cæsar, was against it.

Cæsar Dictator.

31. Cæsar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home again all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had been slain in Sylla's time: and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppress them; and besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven days only, and

Cæsar and Isauricus Consuls.

then did yield it up of himself, and made himself Consul with Servilius Isauricus, and after that determined to follow the wars. All the rest of his army he left, coming on the way, behind him, and went himself before with six hundred horse, and five legions only of footmen, in the winter quarter, about the month of January, which after the Athenians is called Posideon. Then having passed over the sea Ionium, and landed

¹ won.

Cæsar goeth into the kingdom of Epirus.

his men, he wan¹ the cities of Oricum and Apollonia. Then he sent his ships back again unto Brundusium, to transport the rest of his soldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They, as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body and lusty youth was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry battles as they had fought with their enemies, complained of Cæsar in this sort:—"To what end and purpose doth this man hale² us after him, up and down the world, using us like slaves and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that bear the blows away: and what, shall we never be without our harness³ on our backs, and our shields on our arms? Should not Cæsar think, at the least when he seeth our blood and wounds, that we are all mortal men, and that we feel the misery and pains that other men do feel? And now, even in the dead of winter, he putteth us unto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea, which the gods themselves cannot withstand, as if he fled before his enemies and pursued them not." Thus spending time with this talk, the soldiers, still

Complaints of the old soldiers against Cæsar.
² drag.

³ armour.

marching on, by small journeys came at length unto the city of Brundusium. But when they were come, and found that Cæsar had already passed over the sea, then they straight⁴ changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselves, and took on⁵ also with their captains, because they had not made them make more haste in marching: and sitting

⁴ at once.

⁵ were angry.

upon the rocks and cliffs of the sea, they looked over the main sea, towards the realm of Epirus, to see if they could discern the ships returning back to transport them over. Cæsar in the mean time, being in the city of Apollonia, having but a small army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that the rest of his army was so long a-coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to embark¹ unknown in a little pinnace of 12 oars only, to pass over the sea again unto Brundisium, the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of Pompey's ships and armies. So he took ship in the night, apparelled like a slave, and went aboard upon this little pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had been some poor man of mean condition. The pinnace lay in the mouth of the river of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calm and quiet, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every morning drave² back the waves far into the main sea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the sea, that overcame the landwind, insomuch as, the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the master of the pinnace, seeing that he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bade the mariners to cast about³ again, and to return against the stream. Cæsar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him; but Cæsar then taking him by the hand, said unto him, "Good fellow, be of good cheer, and forwards hardily; fear not, for thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee." Then the mariners, forgetting the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load⁴ with oars, and laboured for life what they could against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vain, and that the pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to sink, Cæsar then, to his great grief, was driven to return back again: who when he was returned unto his camp, his soldiers came in great companies unto him, and were very sorry that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to overcome his enemies, but would put his person in danger to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the mean time

A great adventure of Cæsar.
¹ embark.

Anius fl.

² drove.

³ turn round.

⁴ toiled hard.

Antoni^{us} arrived, and brought with him the rest of his army from Brundisium.

Cæsar's dangers and troubles in the realm of Epirus.

¹ exceeding-ly.

² ate.

³ kept guard.
⁴ some of.

⁵ endurance.

⁶ since.

Cæsar's army fled from Pompey.

⁷ halt.

⁸ lifted.

⁹ anticipat-
ing.

¹⁰ struck.

Cæsar's words of

32. Then Cæsar, finding himself strong enough, went and offered Pompey battle, who was passingly¹ well lodged for victualling of his camp both by sea and land. Cæsar on the other side, who had no great plenty of victuals at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered roots, and mingled them with milk, and eat² them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also; and sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, and came along by them that watched and warded³, they cast of⁴ their bread into their trenches, and said that, as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging of Pompey. But Pompey straitly commanded them, that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their camp, fearing lest his men's hearts would fail them, and that they would be afraid when they should think of their enemies' hardness⁵, with whom they had to fight, sith⁶ they were weary with no pains, no more than brute beasts. Cæsar's men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of Pompey's camp, in the which Cæsar had ever the better, saving once only, at which time his men fled with such fear, that all his camp that day was in great hazard to have been cast away. For Pompey came on with his battle upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driven into their camp, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were slain within the very gate and bulwarks of their camp, they were so valiantly pursued. Cæsar stood before them that fled, to make them to turn head again, but he could not prevail. For when he would have taken the ensigns to have stayed them, the ensign-bearers threw them down on the ground: so that the enemies took two and thirty of them, and Cæsar's self also escaped hardly with life. For, striking a great big soldier that fled by him, commanding him to stay⁷ and turn his face to his enemy: the soldier, being afraid, lift⁸ up his sword to strike at Cæsar. But one of Cæsar's pages, preventing⁹ him, gave him such a blow with his sword that he strake¹⁰ off his shoulder. Cæsar that day was brought unto so great extremity, that (if Pompey had not either for fear, or spiteful fortune, left off to follow his victory, and retired into his camp, being contented to have driven his enemies into their camp) returning to his camp with his friends, he said unto them: "The victory this day had been our enemies', if they had had a

captain that could have told how to have overcome." So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more than any night that ever he had. For still his mind ran with great sorrow of the foul fault he had committed in leading of his army, of self-will to remain there so long by the sea-side, his enemies being the stronger by sea, considering that he had before him a goodly country, rich and plentiful of all things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessaly: and had not the wit to bring the war from thence, but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his enemies for lack of victuals than that he did besiege them by force of arms. Thus fretting and chafing to see himself so straightened¹ with² victuals, and to think of his ill luck, he raised his camp, intending to go set upon³ Scipio, making account, that either he should draw Pompey to battle against his will, when he had not the sea at his back to furnish him with plenty of victuals; or else that he should easily overcome Scipio, finding him alone, unless he were aided. This remove of Cæsar's camp did much encourage Pompey's army and his captains, who would needs in any case have followed after him, as though he had been overcome and had fled. But for Pompey himself, he would in no respect hazard battle, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himself so well provided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this war out in length by tract⁴ of time, the rather to consume this little strength that remained in Cæsar's army: of the which, the best men were marvellous well trained and good soldiers, and for valiantness at one day's battle were incomparable. But on the other side again, to remove here and there so oft, and to fortify their camp where they came, and to besiege any wall, or to keep watch all night in their armour: the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then unable to away with⁵ their pains, so that the weakness of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them, that came by ill meats hunger drove⁶ them to eat. Yet was not this the worst: for besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by⁷ victuals; so that it seemed, in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects Pompey would in no case fight, and yet had he but Cato only of his mind in that, who stuck⁸ in it the rather, because he would avoid shedding of his countrymen's blood. For when Cato had

Pompey's victory. Cæsar troubled in mind after his loss.

¹ straitened.
² for.
³ go and attack.

Pompey's determination for the war.

⁴ length.

⁵ support.

⁶ drove.

⁷ obtain.

⁸ continued.

¹ others.² on the other hand.*Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.*³ outspoken.*The city of Gomphes in Thessaly.*⁴ Bacchanalians.*Pompey's dream in Pharsalia. The security of the Pompeians.*

* See note.

⁵ bragging mood.

viewed the dead bodies slain in the camp of his enemies at the last skirmish that was between them, the which were no less than a thousand persons, he covered his face, and went away weeping. All other¹ but he, contrarily², fell out with him, and blamed him because he so long refrained from battle: and some prickt him forward, and called him Agamemnon, and king of kings, saying that he delayed this war in this sort, because he would not leave his authority to command them all, and that he was glad always to see many captains round about him, which came to his lodging to honour him and wait upon him. And Faonius also, a hare-brained fellow, frantically counterfeiting the round³ and plain speech of Cato, made as though he was marvellous angry, and said: "Is it not great pity, that we shall not eat this year of Tusculum figs, and all for Pompey's ambitious mind to reign alone?" and Afranius, who not long before was but lately come out of Spain (where, because he had but ill success, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sold his army unto Cæsar), he went busily asking, "why they fought not with that merchant, unto whom they said he had sold the province of Spain?" So that Pompey, with these kinds of speeches, against his will, was driven to follow Cæsar to fight with him. Then was Cæsar at the first marvellously perplexed and troubled by the way, because he found none that would give him any victuals, being despised of every man for the late loss and overthrow he had received. But after he had taken the city of Gomphes in Thessaly, he did not only meet with plenty of victuals to relieve his army with, but he strangely also did rid them of their disease. For the soldiers meeting with plenty of wine, drinking hard, and making merry, drave away the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancing, masking, and playing the Baccherians⁴ by the way, insomuch that drinking drunk they overcame their disease, and made their bodies new again.

33. When they both came into the country of Pharsalia, and both camps lay before each other, Pompey returned again to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signs and tokens of misfortune in his sleep. For he thought in his sleep that, when he entered into the theatre, all the Romans received him with great clapping of hands*. Whereupon they that were about him grew to such boldness and security, assuring themselves of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio in a bravery⁵ contended between themselves for the

chief bishopric which Cæsar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto Rome to hire the nearest houses unto the market-place, as being the fittest places for Prætors and Consuls: making their account already, that those offices could not scape them, incontinently¹ after the wars. But besides those, the young gentlemen and Roman knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted, and armed with glistering² gilt armours, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand, where the gentlemen of Cæsar's side were but one thousand only. The number of his footmen³ also were much after the same reckoning. For he had five and forty thousand against two and twenty thousand. Wherefore Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them how Cornificius was at hand who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteen ensigns led by Calenus, the which he made to stay about Megara and Athens. Then he asked them, if they would tarry for that aid or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture battle. The soldiers cried out to him, and prayed him not to defer battle, but rather to devise some fetch⁴ to make the enemy fight as soon as he could. Then as he sacrificed unto the gods, for the purifying of his army, the first beast was no sooner sacrificed but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three days. Cæsar asked him again, if he saw in the sacrifices any lucky sign or token of good luck. The soothsayer answered: "For that, thou shalt answer thyself better than I can do: for the gods do promise us a marvellous great change and alteration of things that are now, unto another clean contrary. For if thou beest well now, dost thou think to have worse fortune hereafter? and if thou be ill, assure thyself thou shalt have better." The night before the battle, as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element⁵, all of a light fire, that came over Cæsar's camp, and fell down in Pompey's. In the morning also, when they relieved the watch, they heard a false alarm in the enemies' camp, without any apparent cause: which they commonly call a sudden fear, that makes men besides⁶ themselves. This notwithstanding, Cæsar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his camp from thence, and to have gone towards the city of Scotusa: and his tents in his camp were already overthrown⁷, when his scouts came in with great speed, to bring him news that his enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then was

¹ immediately.² glittering.³ infantry.*Pompey's army as great again as Cæsar's.*⁴ scheme.*A wonder seen in the element, before the battle in Pharsalia.*⁵ sky.⁶ beside.⁷ taken down.

*Cæsar's
army and
his order of
battle, in
the fields of
Pharsalia.*

¹ array.

² battalion.

³ secretly.

⁴ rear guard.

*Pompey's
army and
his order
of battle.*

⁵ on purpose.

*An ill coun-
sel and foul
fault of
Pompey.*

⁶ tumult.

⁷ battalion.

he very glad, and after he had made his prayers unto the gods to help him that day, he set his men in battle ray¹, and divided them into three squadrons, giving the middle battle² unto Domitius Calvinus, and the left wing unto Antonius, and placed himself in the right wing, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that his enemies had set all their horsemen, he was half afraid when he saw the great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely³ made six ensigns to come from the rereward⁴ of his battle, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, having first appointed his soldiers what they should do when the horsemen of the enemies came to give them charge. On the other side Pompey placed himself in the right wing of his battle, gave the left wing unto Domitius, and the middle battle unto Scipio his father-in-law. Now all the Roman knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpose⁵ to environ Cæsar's right wing behind, and to give their hottest charge there, where the general of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no squadron of footmen, how thick soever they were, that could receive the charge of so great a troop of horsemen, and that at the first onset they should overthrow them all, and march upon their bellies. When the trumpets on either side did sound the alarm to the battle, Pompey commanded his footmen that they should stand still without stirring, to receive the charge of their enemies, until they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore Cæsar afterwards said, that Pompey had committed a foul fault, not to consider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also unto their blows, doth set men's hearts also on fire: for the common hurling⁶ of all the soldiers that run together, is unto them as a box on the ear that sets men on fire. Then Cæsar, making his battle⁷ march forward to give the onset, saw one of his captains (a valiant man, and very skilful in war, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his soldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and said unto him: "Well, Caius Crassinius, what hope shall we have to-day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully?" Then Crassinius, casting up his hand, answered him aloud: "This day, O Cæsar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead." When he had told him so, he was himself the foremost man that gave charge upon his enemies,

with his band following of him, being about six score men ; and making a lane through the foremost ranks with great slaughter, he entered far into the battle of his enemies, until that, valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length into the mouth with a sword, that the point of it came out again at his neck. Now the footmen of both battles being come to the sword, the horsemen of the left wing of Pompey did march as fiercely also, spreading out their troops, to compass in the right wing of Cæsar's battle. But before they began to give charge, the six ensigns of footmen which Cæsar had laid in ambush behind him, they began to run full upon them, not throwing away their darts far off, as they were wont to do, neither striking their enemies on the thighs nor on the legs, but to seek to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Cæsar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young gentlemen that had not been often in the wars nor were used to see themselves hurt, and the which, being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the fear of the present danger to be slain, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deformed. As indeed it came to pass, for they could never abide that they should come so near their faces with the points of their darts, but hung down their heads for fear to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backs, covering their face because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves¹, they began at length cowardly to fly, and were occasion also of the loss of all the rest of Pompey's army. For they that had broken them ran immediately to set upon the squadron of the footmen behind, and slew them. Then Pompey, seeing his horsemen, from the other wing of his battle, so scattered and dispersed, flying away, forgot that he was any more Pompey the Great, which he had been before, but was rather like a man whose wits the gods had taken from him, being afraid and amazed with the slaughter sent from above, and so retired into his tent, speaking never a word, and sat there to see the end of this battle ; until at the length all his army being overthrown and put to flight, the enemies came, and got up upon the rampiers² and defence of his camp, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himself again, he spake but this only word: "What, even into our camp?" So in haste, casting off his coat-armour³ and apparel of a general, he shifted him⁴, and put on such as became his

*The battle
in the fields
of Phar-
salia.*

*Cæsar's
stratagem.*

¹ breaking
their ranks.

*Cæsar over-
cometh
Pompey.*

² ramparts.

³ uniform.
⁴ changed
his apparel.

*Pompey's
flight.*

*Brutus that
slew Cæsar
taken pri-
soner at the
battle of
Pharsalia.*

*Signs and
tokens of
Cæsar's
victory.*

*A strange
tale of Cor-
nelius an ex-
cellent prog-
nosticator.*

miserable fortune, and so stole out of his camp. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himself into the hands of the Egyptians, by whom he was miserably slain, we have set it forth at large in his life. Then Cæsar, entering into Pompey's camp, and seeing the bodies laid on the ground that were slain, and others also that were a-killing, said, fetching a great sigh: "It was their own doing, and against my will. For Caius Cæsar, after he had won so many famous conquests, and overcome so many great battles, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his army." Asinius Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek; and saith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the camp were slaves and bondmen, and that there were not slain in all this battle above six thousand soldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, Cæsar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus was one, that afterwards slew Cæsar himself: and it is reported that Cæsar was very sorry for him, when he could not immediately be found after the battle, and that he rejoiced again when he knew he was alive, and that he came to yield himself unto him. Cæsar had many signs and tokens of victory before this battle, but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the city of Tralles. For in the temple of Victory, within the same city, there was an image of Cæsar, and the earth all about it very hard of itself, and was paved besides with hard stone: and yet some say that there sprang up a palm hard by the base of the same image. In the city of Padua, Caius Cornelius, an excellent soothsayer (a countryman and friend of Titus Livius the historiographer), was by chance at that time set to behold the flying of birds. He (as Livy reporteth) knew the very time when the battle began, and told them that were present, "Even now they give the onset on both sides, and both armies do meet at this instant." Then sitting down again, to consider of the birds, after he had bethought him of the signs, he suddenly rose up on his feet, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit: "O Cæsar, the victory is thine." Every man wondering to see him, he took the crown he had on his head, and made an oath that he would never put it on again, till the event of his prediction had proved his art true. Livy testifieth that it came so to pass. Cæsar afterwards giving freedom unto the Thessalians, in respect of the victory

which he wan¹ in their country, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gave freedom also unto the Guidians for Theopompus' sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release Asia also the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid unto the Romans. Then he came into Alexandria after Pompey was slain: and detested Theodotus that presented him Pompey's head, and turned his head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he took his seal, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously used all Pompey's friends and familiars, who wandering up and down the country, were taken of² the king of Egypt, and wan¹ them all to be at his commandment. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote unto his friends at Rome, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victory was, that he daily saved the lives of some of his countrymen that bare arms against him.

¹ won.

Cæsar's clemency in victory.
² by.

The cause of Cæsar's war in Alexandria.

Pothinus the eunuch caused Pompey to be slain.

³ hint.⁴ wooden.

⁵ sums of
10,000
pieces.

34. And for the war he made in Alexandria, some say he needed not to have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra: wherein he wan¹ little honour, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault upon the king of Egypt's ministers, but specially on Pothinus the eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the king's servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slain, and driven Cleopatra from the court, secretly laid wait all the ways he could, how he might likewise kill Cæsar. Wherefore Cæsar, hearing an inkling³ of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safety. But besides all this, Pothinus the eunuch spake many things openly, not to be borne, only to shame Cæsar, and to stir up the people to envy him. For he made his soldiers have the worst and oldest wheat that could be gotten: then, if they did complain of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eat at another man's cost. And he would serve them also at the table in treen⁴ and earthen dishes, saying, 'that Cæsar had away all their gold and silver, for a debt that the king's father (that then reigned) did owe unto him:' which was a thousand seven hundred and fifty myriads⁵; whereof Cæsar had before forgiven seven hundred and fifty thousand unto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his soldiers withal. Thereto Pothinus answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leisure recover his debt, with the king's good will and favour. Cæsar replied unto him, and said,

*Cleopatra
came to
Cæsar.*

¹ means.
*Cleopatra
trussed up
in a mat-
tress, and
so brought
to Cæsar,
upon Apollo-
dorus' back.*
² bundle.

³ behaviour.

⁴ continually.

⁶ finally.

*The great
library of
Alexandria
burnt.*

⁶ Pharos,
lighthouse.
⁷ intending.

*Cæsar's
swimming
with books
in his hand.*

that he would not ask counsel of the Egyptians for his affairs, but would be paid: and thereupon secretly sent for Cleopatra, which was in the country, to come unto him. She, only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took a little boat, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then having no other mean¹ to come into the court without being known, she laid herself down upon a mattress or flockbed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound up together like a bundle with a great leather thong, and so took her upon his back and brought her thus hampered in this fardle² unto Cæsar in at the castle gate. This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made Cæsar to love her: but afterwards, when he saw her sweet conversation³ and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcile her again unto her brother the king, with condition that they two jointly should reign together. Upon this new reconciliation, a great feast being prepared, a slave of Cæsar's that was his barber, the fearfullest wretch that lived, still⁴ busily prying and listening abroad in every corner, being mistrustful by nature, found that Pothinus and Achillas did lie in wait to kill his master Cæsar. This being proved unto Cæsar, he did set such sure watch about the hall, where the feast was made, that in fine⁵ he slew the eunuch Pothinus himself. Achillas on the other side saved himself, and fled unto the king's camp, where he raised a marvellous dangerous and difficult war for Cæsar: because he, having then but a few men about him, was to fight against a great and strong city. The first danger he fell into was the want of water: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conveyed the water into the castle. The second danger he had was, that seeing his enemies came to take his ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arsenal where the ships lay, and that notable library of Alexandria withal. The third danger was in the battle by sea, that was fought by the tower of Phar⁶: where meaning⁷ to help his men that fought by sea, he leapt from the pier into a boat. Then the Egyptians made towards him with their oars on every side: but he, leaping into the sea, with great hazard saved himself by swimming. It is said, that then, holding divers books in his hand, he did never let them go, but kept them always upon his head above water, and swam with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot marvellously at him, and was

driven sometime to duck into the water : howbeit the boat was drowned presently¹. In fine, the king coming to his men that made war with Cæsar, he went against him and gave him battle, and wan² it with great slaughter and effusion of blood. But for the king, no man could ever tell what became of him after. Thereupon Cæsar made Cleopatra his sister queen of Egypt, who, being great with child by him, was shortly brought to bed of a son, whom the Alexandrians named Cæsarion.

35. From thence he went into Syria, and so going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitias was overthrown in battle by Pharnaces, the son of king Mithridates, and was fled out of the realm of Pont with a few men with him : and that this king Pharnaces, greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of Bithynia and Cappadocia, but further would needs attempt to win Armenia the less, procuring³ all those kings, princes, and governors of the provinces thereabouts to rebel against the Romans. Thereupon Cæsar went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battle with king Pharnaces by the city of Zela, where he slew his army, and drave⁴ him out of all the realm of Pont. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddenness of this victory, he only wrote three words unto Anitius at Rome : "Veni, vidi, vici : " to wit, "I came, I saw, I overcame." These three words, ending all with like sound and letter in the Latin, have a certain short grace more pleasant to the ear than can be well expressed in any other tongue. After this he returned again into Italy and came to Rome, ending his year for the which he was made dictator the second time, which office before was never granted for one whole year, but⁵ unto him. Then was he chosen consul for the year following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his soldiers in a mutiny having slain two Prætors, Cosconius and Galba, he gave them no other punishment for it, but instead of calling them soldiers he named them citizens, and gave unto every one of them a thousand drachmas a man, and great possessions in Italy. He was much misliked also for the desperate parts⁶ and madness of Dolabella, for the covetousness of Anitius, for the drunkenness of Antonius and Cornificius ; which made Pompey's house be pulled down and builded up again, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith the Romans were marvellously offended. Cæsar knew all this well enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them : but to bring his

¹ soon.

² won.

*Cæsar made
Cleopatra
queen of
Egypt.
Cæsarion,
Cæsar's son,
begotten of
Cleopatra.*

³ persuading.

*Cæsar's vic-
tory of king
Pharnaces.*

⁴ drove.
*Cæsar writ-
eth three
words to
certify his
victory.*

⁵ except.

⁶ disposition.

matters to pass, he pretended he was driven to serve his turn by such instruments.

*Cæsar's
journey into
Africa, a-
gainst Cato
and Scipio.*
¹ powerful,
² midst.

36. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cato and Scipio being fled into Africa, king Juba joined with them, and levied a great puissant¹ army. Wherefore Cæsar determined to make war with them: and, in the midst² of winter, he took his journey into Sicily. There, because he would take all hope from his captains and soldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged upon the very sands by the seaside, and with the next gale of wind that came, he took the sea with three thousand footmen and a few horsemen. Then having put them a land³, unawares to them he hoisted⁴ sail again to fetch the rest of his army, being afraid lest they should meet with some danger in passing over; and meeting them midway, he brought them all into his camp. Where, when it was told him that his enemies trusted in an ancient oracle, which said, that it was predestined unto the family of the Scipios to be conquerors in Africa: either of purpose to mock Scipio, the general of his enemies, or otherwise⁵, in good earnest, to take the benefit of this name (given by the oracle) unto himself, in all the skirmishes and battles fought, he gave the charge of his army unto a man of mean quality and account, called Scipio Salutius, who came of the race of Scipio African, and made him always general when he fought. For he was eftsoons⁶ compelled to weary and harry his enemies, for that neither his men in his camp had corn enough, nor the beasts forage, but the soldiers were driven to take sea-weeds, called *Alga*: and (washing away the brackishness thereof with fresh water, putting to it a little herb called dog's-tooth) to cast it so to their horse⁷ to eat. For the Numidians (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service) being a great number together, would be on a sudden in every place, and spread all the fields over thereabout, so that no man durst peep out of the camp to go for forage. And one day, as the men of arms were staying to behold an African doing notable things in dancing and playing with the flute (they being set down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, having in the meantime given their slaves their horses to hold) the enemies stealing suddenly upon them, compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pellmell into their camp. Furthermore, had not Cæsar himself in person, and Asinius Pollio with him, gone out of the camp to the rescue and stayed them that fled, the war that

³ on land.

⁴ hoisted.

⁵ else.

⁶ at once.

*Cæsar's
troubles in
Africa.
Alga and
dog's-tooth
given to the
horse to eat.*
⁷ horses.

*Cæsar's
dangers in
Africa.*

day had been ended. There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the upper hand, in the which it is reported that Cæsar, taking the ensign-bearer by the collar that carried the eagle in his hand, stayed him by force, and turning his face, told him: "See, there be thy enemies." These advantages did lift up Scipio's heart aloft, and gave him courage to hazard battle: and leaving Afranius on the one hand of him, and king Juba on the other hand, both their camps lying near together, he did fortify himself by the city of Thapsacus, above the lake, to be a safe refuge for them all in this battle. But whilst he was busy intrenching of himself, Cæsar, having marvellous speedily passed through a great country full of wood by by-paths which men would never have mistrusted¹: he stole upon some behind, and suddenly assailed the other before, so that he overthrew them all, and made them fly. Then following the first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set upon the camp of Afranius, the which he took at the first onset, and the camp of the Numidians also, king Juba being fled. Thus in a little piece of the day only, he took three camps, and slew fifty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his soldiers. In this sort is set down the effect of this battle by some writers. Yet others do write also, that Cæsar self was not there in person at the execution of this battle. For as he did set his men in battle ray², the falling sickness³ took him, whereunto he was given; and therefore feeling it coming, before he was overcome withal, he was carried into a castle not far from thence where the battle was fought, and there took his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him. Now for⁴ the Prætor and Cónsuls that scaped from this battle, many of them being taken prisoners did kill themselves, and others also Cæsar did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men else to have Cato alive in his hands, he went with all possible speed unto the city of Utica, whereof Cato was governor, by means whereof he was not at the battle. Notwithstanding being certified by the way that Cato had slain himself with his own hands, he then made open show that he was very sorry for it, but why or wherefore, no man could tell. But this is true, that Cæsar said at that present time: "O Cato, I envy thy death, because thou didst envy my glory to save thy life." This notwithstanding, the book that he wrote afterwards against Cato, being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitiful heart towards him. For how could he have pardoned him, if living

¹ suspected.

*Cæsar's
great victory
and small
loss.*

*Cæsar trou-
bled with
the falling
sickness.
² array.
³ epilepsy.*

⁴ as regards.

*Cæsar was
sorry for the
death of
Cato.
Cæsar wrote
against Cato,
being dead.*

*Cicero wrote
a book in
praise of
Cato being
dead.*

¹ approving.

*Juba, the
son of king
Juba, a
famous
historio-
grapher.*

*Cæsar's
feasting of
the Romans.*

² with sharp
weapons.

*The muster
taken of the
Romans.*

he had had him in his hands, that being dead did speak so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him, if he had taken him alive, by the clemency he shewed unto Cicero, Brutus, and divers others that had borne arms against him. Some report that he wrote that book, not so much for any private malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, upon this occasion. Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he entitled 'Cato.' This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Cæsar therewith was marvellously offended, thinking that to praise him of whose death he was author was even so much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped up a number of accusations against Cato, and entitled the book 'Anticaton.' Both these books have favourers unto this day, some defending the one for the love they bear to Cæsar, and others allowing¹ the other for Cato's sake.

37. Cæsar, being now returned out of Africa, first of all made an oration to the people wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victory, declaring unto them that he had conquered so many countries unto the empire of Rome, that he could furnish the commonwealth yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oil. Then he made three triumphs, the one for Egypt, the other for the kingdom of Pont, and the third for Africa: not because he had overcome Scipio there, but king Juba. Whose son being likewise called Juba, being then a young boy, was led captive in the show of this triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him: for, where he was but a barbarous Numidian, by the study he fell unto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wisest historiographers of the Grecians. After these three triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his soldiers: and to curry favour with the people, he made great feasts and common sports. For he feasted all the Romans at one time, at two and twenty thousand tables, and gave them the pleasure to see divers sword-players to fight at the sharp², and battles also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter Julia, which was dead long before. Then after all these sports, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered: and where there were, at the last musters before, three hundred and twenty thousand

citizens, at this muster there were only but a hundred and fifty thousand. Such misery and destruction had this civil war brought unto the commonwealth of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romans, not speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it had brought unto all the rest of Italy, and to the other provinces pertaining to Rome.

38. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into Spain to make war with the sons of Pompey : who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a marvellous great army together, and shewed they had manhood and courage worthy to command such an army, insomuch as they put Cæsar himself in great danger of his life. The greatest battle that was fought between them in all this war, was by the city of Munda. For then Cæsar, seeing his men sorely distressed, and having their hands full of their enemies, he ran into the prease¹ among his men that fought, and cried out unto them : "What, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yielding yourselves with your own hands to these young boys?" And so, with all the force he could make, having with much ado put his enemies to flight, he slew above thirty thousand of them in the field, and lost of his own men a thousand of the best he had. After this battle he went into his tent and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victory, but, this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his own life. He wan² this battle on the very feast-day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say that Pompey the Great went out of Rome, about four years before, to begin this civil war. For³ his sons, the younger scaped from the battle; but, within few days after, Didius brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Cæsar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same did as much offend the Romans, and more, than any thing that ever he had done before : because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrown. And because he had plucked up his race by the roots, men did not think it meet for him to triumph so for the calamities of his country, rejoicing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to allege in his defence unto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers unto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won

*Cæsar
Consul the
fourth time.*

*Battle
fought be-
twixt Cæsar
and the
young Pom-
peys, by the
city of Mun-
da.
¹ press,
thrang.
Cæsar's vic-
tory of the
sons of Pom-
pey.*

² won.

³ as for.

*Cæsar's
triumph of
Pompey's
sons.*

in all the civil wars : but did always for shame refuse the glory of it.

39. This notwithstanding, the Romans, inclining to Cæsar's prosperity and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good mean¹ for them to take breath a little, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden² in these civil wars, they chose him perpetual Dictator. This was a plain tyranny : for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, never to be afraid to be deposed. Cicero pronounced before the Senate, that they should give him such honours as were meet for a man : howbeit others afterwards added too honours beyond all reason. For men striving who should most honour him, they made him hateful and troublesome to themselves that most favoured him, by reason of the unmeasurable greatness and honours which they gave him. Thereupon it is reported, that even they that most hated him were no less favourers and furtherers of his honours than they that most flattered him, because they might have greater occasions³ to rise⁴, and that it might appear they had just cause and colour⁵ to attempt that they did against him. And now for himself, after he had ended his civil wars, he did so honourably behave himself, that there was no fault to be found in him : and therefore methinks, amongst other honours they gave him, he rightly deserved this, that they should build him a temple of Clemency, to thank him for his courtesy he had used unto them in his victory. For he pardoned many of them that had borne arms against him, and furthermore, did prefer some of them to honour and office in the commonwealth : as, amongst others, Cassius and Brutus, both the which were made Prætors. And, where Pompey's images had been thrown down, he caused them to be set up again : whereupon Cicero said then, that, Cæsar setting up Pompey's images again, he made his own to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him, he would never consent to it, but said : "It was better to die once, than always to be afraid of death." But to win himself the love and goodwill of the people, as the honourablest guard and best safety he could have, he made common feasts again and general distributions of corn. Furthermore, to gratify the soldiers also, he replenished many cities again with inhabitants, which before had been destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repair unto : of the which the noblest

¹ means.

² undergone.

Cæsar Dictator perpetual.

³ reasons.

⁴ rebel.

⁵ pretext.

The temple of Clemency dedicated unto Cæsar, for his courtesy. Cassius and Brutus Prætors.

Cæsar's saying of death. Goodwill of subjects, the best guard and safety for princes.

and chiefest cities were these two, Carthage and Corinth: and it chanced also, that like as aforetime they had been both taken and destroyed together, even so were they both set on foot again, and replenished with people, at one self¹ time. And as for great personages, he wan² them also, promising some of them to make them Prætors and Consuls in time to come; and unto others honours and preferments: but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the ways he could to make every man contented with his reign. Insomuch as one of his Consuls called Maximus, chancing to die a day before his consulship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilus Consul only for the day that remained. So, divers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer, Cicero pleasantly said: "Come, let us make haste, and be gone thither before his consulship come out³." Furthermore, Cæsar being born to attempt all great enterprises, and having an ambitious desire besides to covet great honours, the prosperous good success he had of his former conquests bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours; but rather gave him the hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him thoughts of greater enterprises and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himself as with another man, and a certain contention to overcome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also, to make war with the Persians. Then, when he had overcome them, to pass through Hyrcania (compassing in the sea *Caspium*, and mount Caucasus) into the realm of Pontus, and so to invade Scythia: and, overrunning all the countries and people adjoining unto high Germany, and Germany itself, at length to return by Gaul into Italy, and so to enlarge the Roman empire round, that it might be every way compassed in with the great sea *Oceanum*. But whilst he was preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the bar of the straight⁴ of Peloponnesus, in the market-place where the city of Corinth standeth. Then he was minded to bring the rivers of Anienes and Tiber straight from Rome unto the city of Circees⁵, with a deep channel and high banks cast up on either side, and so to fall into the sea at Terracina, for the better safety and commodity of the merchants that came to Rome to traffic there. Furthermore, he determined to drain and sew⁶ all the water of the marishes⁷ betwixt the cities of

¹ same.² won.*Caninius
Rebilus
consul for
one day.*³ come to an end.⁴ strait,
isthmus.*Anienes.
Tiber flu.
6 Circeii.*⁶ drain.
⁷ marshes.

¹ harbour.

Cæsar re-
formed the
inequality
of the year.
² ordering.

³ pleased.

* *Mercedo-
nius mensis
intercalaris.*

⁴ arrange.⁵ in no way.

Why Cæsar
was hated.

⁶ good rea-
son.

Nomentum and Setium, to make firm land, for the benefit of many thousands of people: and on the sea-coast next unto Rome, to cast great high banks, and to cleanse all the haven about Ostia of rocks and stones hidden under the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harbourough¹ dangerous for ships, and to make new havens and arsenals meet to harbour such ships as did continually traffic thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but took no effect.

40. But the ordinance² of the calendar, and reformation of the year, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the mathematicians and brought to perfection, was a great commodity unto all men. For the Romans, using then the ancient computation of the year, had not only such uncertainty and alteration of the month and times, that the sacrifices and yearly feasts came, by little and little, to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also, in the revolution of the sun (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account: and, of the Romans themselves, only the priests understood it. And therefore when they listed³, they suddenly (no man being able to control them) did thrust in a month above their ordinary number, which they called in old time *Mercedonius**. Some say that Numa Pompilius was the first that devised this way, to put a month between: but it was a weak remedy, and did little help the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the year, to frame⁴ them to perfection. But Cæsar, committing this matter unto the philosophers and best expert mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect calendar, more exactly calculated than any other that was before: the which the Romans do use until this present day, and do nothing⁵ err as others in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding, that envied his greatness, did not stick to find fault withal. As Cicero the orator, when one said, "to-morrow the star *Lyra* will rise:" "Yea," said he, "at the commandment of Cæsar;" as if men were compelled so to say and think by Cæsar's edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated was the covetous desire he had to be called king: which first gave the people just cause, and next his secret enemies honest colour⁶, to bear him ill-will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignity gave it out among the people that it was written in the Sybilline prophecies, 'how the Romans might overcome the Parthians, if they made war with them and

were led by a king, but otherwise that they were unconquerable.' And furthermore they were so bold besides, that, Cæsar returning to Rome from the city of Alba, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and Cæsar also angry, he said he was not called king, but Cæsar. Then every man keeping silence, he went his way heavy and sorrowful. When they had decreed divers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors, accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went unto him in the market-place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his absence. But he, sitting still in his majesty, disdaining to rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been private men, answered them: 'that his honours had more need to be cut off than enlarged.' This did not only offend the Senate but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteem of the magistrates of the commonwealth: insomuch as every man that might lawfully go his way departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also Cæsar rising departed home to his house, and tearing open his doublet-collar, making his neck bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, 'that his throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it.' Notwithstanding it is reported, that afterwards, to excuse his folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, 'that their wits are not perfit¹ which have this disease of the falling evil², when standing on their feet they speak to the common people, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sudden dimness and giddiness.' But that was not true, for he would have risen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of his friends (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: "What, do you not remember that you are Cæsar, and will you not let them reverence you and do their duties?"

41. Besides these occasions³ and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach, abusing the tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time the feast *Lupercalia* was celebrated, the which in old time men say was the feast of shepherds or herdmen, and is much like unto the feast of the Lycæans in Arcadia. But howsoever it is, that day there are divers noble-men's sons, young men, (and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then), which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place⁴. And many

¹ perfect.² epilepsy.³ causes of dislike.
*The feast
Lupercalia.*⁴ draw back.

¹ punishing-
bat.

*Antonius,
being Consul, was one
of the Lupercalians.
Antonius
presented
the diadem
to Cæsar.*

noblewomen and gentlewomen also go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster to be stricken with the ferula¹: persuading themselves that, being with child, they shall have good delivery; and so, being barren, that it will make them to conceive with child. Cæsar sat to behold that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chain of gold, apparelled in triumphant manner. Antonius, who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ran this holy course. So when he came into the market-place, the people made a lane for him to run at liberty, and he came to Cæsar, and presented him a diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very great, done only by a few appointed for the purpose. But when Cæsar refused the diadem, then all the people together made an outcry of joy. Then Antonius offering it him again, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when Cæsar refused it again the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Cæsar having made this proof, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chair, and commanded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol. After that, there were set up images of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down, and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Cæsar as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them rejoicing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdom of one person unto the government of the Senate and people. Cæsar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti and Cumani, to wit, beasts and fools.

42. Hereupon the people went straight unto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother of the house of the Servilians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and son-in-law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour Cæsar shewed unto him kept him back that of himself alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For Cæsar did not only save his life after the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey fled, and did at his request also save many mo² of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a marvellous confi-

*Cæsar saved
Marcus
Brutus' life,
after the
battle of
Pharsalia.
² more.*

dence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that year, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul the fourth year after that, having through Cæsar's friendship obtained it before Cassius, who likewise made suit for the same: and Cæsar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, "indeed Cassius hath alleged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before Brutus." Some one day accusing Brutus while he practised¹ this conspiracy, Cæsar would not hear of it, but, clapping his hand on his body, told them, "Brutus will look for this skin:" meaning thereby, that Brutus for his virtue deserved to rule after him, but yet that, for ambition's sake, he would not shew himself unthankful or dishonourable. Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus only their prince and governor above all other, they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Prætor's seat, where he gave audience, and the most of them to this effect: "Thou sleepest, Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed." Cassius, finding Brutus' ambition stirred up the more by these seditious bills², did prick³ him forward and egg him on⁴ the more, for a private quarrel he had conceived against Cæsar: the circumstance whereof we have set down more at large in Brutus' life. Cæsar also had Cassius in great jealousy, and suspected him much: whereupon he said on a time to his friends, "what will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks." Another time when Cæsar's friends complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended⁵ some mischief towards him: he answered them again, "As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads," quoth he, "I never reckon of them; but these pale-visaged and carrion-lean people, I fear them most," meaning Brutus and Cassius.

43. Certainly destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided, considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Cæsar's death. For, touching the fires in the element⁶, and spirits running up and down in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place, are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo the philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the soldiers that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, inso-much as they that saw it thought he had been burnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cæsar self⁷ also

¹ plotted.
Brutus conspires against Cæsar.

Cassius stirreth up Brutus against Cæsar.
² letters.
³ spur.
⁴ incite him.

⁵ plotted.

⁶ sky.
Predictions and fore-shews of Cæsar's death.

⁷ himself.

*Cæsar's day
of his death
pragnoti-
cated by a
soothsayer.*

¹ anticipat-
ing.

*The dream
of Calpur-
nia, Cæsar's
wife.*
² rambling.

³ decoration.

⁴ satisfy.

*Decius Bru-
tus Albinus'
persuasion
to Cæsar.*

doing sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart : and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart. Furthermore there was a certain soothsayer that had given Cæsar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Cæsar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, "the Ides of March be come:" "so they be," softly answered the soothsayer, "but yet are they not past." And the very day before, Cæsar, supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certain letters, as he was wont to do, at the board : so, talk falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best, he, prevent-¹ing their opinions, cried out aloud, "death unlooked for." Then going to bed the same night, as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doors of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light : but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth many fumbling² lamentable speeches : for she dreamed that Cæsar was slain, and that she had him in her arms. Others also do deny that she had any such dream, as, amongst other, Titus Livius writeth that it was in this sort : the Senate having set upon the top of Cæsar's house, for an ornament and setting forth³ of the same, a certain pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that, Cæsar rising in the morning, she prayed him, if it were possible, not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session of the Senate until another day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dream, yet that he would search further of the soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Cæsar likewise did fear or suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear and superstition : and that then he saw her so troubled in mind with this dream she had. But much more afterwards, when the soothsayers having sacrificed many beasts one after another, told him that none did like⁴ them : then he determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Senate.

44. But in the mean time came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Cæsar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heir,

and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius and Brutus : he, fearing that if Cæsar did adjourn the session that day, the conspiracy would be betrayed, laughed at the soothsayers, and reproved Cæsar, saying, "that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him they should¹ depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what would his enemies and ill-willers² say, and how could they like of³ his friends' words? And who could persuade them otherwise, but that they would think his dominion a slavery unto them and tyrannical in himself? And yet if it be so," said he, "that you utterly mislike⁴ of this day, it is better that you go yourself in person, and, saluting the Senate, to dismiss them till another time." Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand, and brought him out of his house. Cæsar was not gone far from his house, but a bond-man, a stranger, did what he could to speak with him : and when he saw he was put back by the great press and multitude of people that followed him, he went straight into his house, and put himself into Calpurnia's hands, to be kept till Cæsar came back again, telling her that he had greater matters to impart unto him. And one Artemidorus also, born in the isle of Gnidos, a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices⁵ against Cæsar, came and brought him a little bill⁶, written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He, marking how Cæsar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them straight⁷ to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said : "Cæsar, read this memorial to yourself, and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly." Cæsar took it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him : but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himself, went on withal into the Senate-house. Howbeit others are of opinion, that it was some man else that gave him that memorial, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could

¹ were to.² evil-wishers.
³ approve.⁴ disapprove.*Decius Brutus brought Cæsar into the Senate-house. The tokens of conspiracy against Cæsar.*⁵ plots.⁶ scroll.⁷ at once.

*The place
where Cæsar was
slain.
1 murder.*

*2 beside.
Antonius,
Cæsar's
faithful
friend.*

*Casca the
first that
struck at
Cæsar.
3 struck.*

all the way as he went to give it Cæsar, but he was always repulsed by the people. For these things, they may seem to come by chance; but the place where the murder¹ was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre, all these were manifest proofs, that it was the ordinance of some god that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise, he did softly call upon it to aid him: but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddenly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man half besides² himself. Now Antonius, that was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate-house, having begun a long tale of set purpose. So Cæsar coming into the house, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. Then part of Brutus' company and confederates stood round about Cæsar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their suit, they followed Cæsar till he was set in his chair. Who denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied the more they pressed upon him and were the earnestest with him, Metellus at length, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him. Then Casca, behind him, strake³ him in the neck with his sword; howbeit the wound was not great nor mortal, because it seemed the fear of such a devilish attempt did amaze him and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Cæsar, turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword and held it hard; and they both cried out, Cæsar in Latin: "O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou?" and Casca, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help me." At the beginning of this stir, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had no power to fly, neither to help him, nor so much as once to make an outcry. They on the other side that had conspired his death compassed him in on every side with

their swords drawn in their hands, that Cæsar turned him no where but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked¹ and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of² hunters. For it was agreed among them that every man should give him a wound, because all their parts should be in this murder³: and then Brutus himself gave him one wound about his privities. Men report also, that Cæsar did still defend himself against the rest, running every way with his body: but when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gown over his head, and made no more resistance, and was driven either casually or purposely⁴, by the counsel of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ran all of⁵ a gore-blood till he was slain. Thus it seemed that the image took just revenge of Pompey's enemy, being thrown down on the ground at his feet, and yielding up the ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows.

45. When Cæsar was slain, the Senate (though Brutus stood in the midst⁶ amongst them, as though he would have said something touching this fact⁷) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with marvellous fear and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut to the doors, others forsook their shops and warehouses, and others ran to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had seen it ran home to their houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Cæsar's chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, fled into other men's houses and forsook their own. Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murder⁸ they had committed, having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate and went into the market-place, not as men that made countenance to fly, but otherwise boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speak with every great personage whom they met in their way. Of them, some followed this troupe and went amongst them, as if they had been of the conspiracy, and falsely challenged⁹ part of the honour with them: amongst them was Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death for their vain covetousness of honour, by Antonius and Octavius Cæsar the younger; and yet had no

¹ hacked.² by.³ murder.⁴ purposely.⁵ with.*Cæsar slain, and had 23 wounds upon him.*⁶ midst.⁷ deed.⁸ murder.*The murderers of Cæsar do go to the market-place.*⁹ claimed.

¹ act.	<p>part of that honour for the which they were both put to death, neither did any man believe that they were any of the confederates or of counsel with them. For they that did put them to death took revenge rather of the will they had to offend than of any fact¹ they had committed. The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market-place to speak unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reprov'd nor allow'd² the fact¹: for by their great silence they shewed that they were sorry for Cæsar's death, and also that they did reverence Brutus. Now the Senate granted general pardon for all that was past; and, to pacify every man, ordained besides, that Cæsar's funerals should be honoured as a god, and established all things that he had done, and gave certain provinces also and convenient honours unto Brutus and his confederates, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietness again. But when they had opened Cæsar's testament³, and found a liberal legacy of money bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome, and that they saw his body (which was brought into the market-place) all be-mangled⁴ with gashes of swords, then there was no order to keep the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables, and stools, and laid them all about the body; and setting them afire, burnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they took the fire-brands, and went unto their houses that had slain Cæsar, to set them afire. Other⁵ also ran up and down the city to see if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in pieces: howbeit they could meet with never a man of them, because they had locked themselves up safely in their houses. There was one of Cæsar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that Cæsar bad⁶ him to supper, and that he refused and would not go: then that Cæsar took him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna, hearing at that time that they burnt Cæsar's body in the market-place, notwithstanding that he feared his dream, and had an ague on him besides, he went into the market-place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the mean sort⁷ asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto another, so that it ran straight⁸ through them all, that he was one of them that murdered⁹ Cæsar: (for indeed one of the traitors to Cæsar was also called Cinna as himself) wherefore taking him for Cinna</p>	
² approved of.		
<i>Cæsar's funerals.</i>		
³ will.		
⁴ mangled.		
⁵ others.		
<i>Cinna's dream of Cæsar.</i> ⁶ invited.		
⁷ common people.		
⁸ at once.		
⁹ murdered.		

the murder¹, they fell upon him with such fury that they presently² dispatched him in the market-place. This stir and fury made Brutus and Cassius more afraid than of all that was past, and therefore within few days after they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we have written it at large in the life of Brutus. Cæsar died at six and fifty years of age, and Pompey also lived not passing four years more than he. So he reaped no other fruit of all his reign and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life and pursued with such extreme danger, but a vain name only and a superficial glory, that procured him the envy and hatred of his country.

46. But his great prosperity and good fortune that favoured him all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death, pursuing the murderers³ both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to Cassius above all other, is most to be wondered at: for he, being overcome in battle at the journey of Philip⁴, slew himself with the same sword with the which he strake⁵ Cæsar. Again, of signs in the element⁶, the great comet, which seven nights together was seen very bright after Cæsar's death, the eighth night after was never seen more. Also the brightness of the sun was darkened, the which all that year through rose very pale and shined⁷ not out, whereby it gave but small heat: therefore the air being very cloudy and dark, by the weakness of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and unripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripe⁸. But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus shewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murder⁹ of Cæsar. The vision was thus: Brutus being ready to pass over his army from the city of Abydos to the other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent; and being yet awake, thinking of his affairs (for by report he was as careful a captain and lived with as little sleep as ever man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent-door, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness and dreadful look, which at the first made him marvellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bed-side and said nothing; at length he asked

*The murder
of Cinna
1 murderer.
2 soon.*

*Cæsar 56
years old
at his death*

*The revenge
of Cæsar's
death.
3 murderers.*

*Cassius being
over-
thrown at
the battle of
Philip⁴
slew himself
with the
selfsame
sword,
wherewith
he struck
Cæsar.
4 struck.
5 sky.
6 shone.
Wonders
seen in the
elements af-
ter Cæsar's
death.
A great
comet.
7 ripen.
8 murder.
Brutus'
vision.*

*A spirit ap-
peared unto
Brutus.*

¹ at once.² won.³ drove.*The second
appearing of
the spirit
unto Brutus.*

him what he was. The image answered him: "I am thy ill angel, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes." Then Brutus replied again, and said, "Well, I shall see thee then." Therewithal the spirit presently¹ vanished from him. After that time Brutus, being in battle near unto the city of Philippes against Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, at the first battle he wan² the victory, and overthrowing all them that withstood him, he drave³ them into young Cæsar's camp, which he took. The second battle being at hand, this spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutus, knowing that he should die, did put himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighting could not be slain. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little rock not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast, fell upon it and slew himself; but yet, as it is reported, with the help of his friend that despatched him.

CHAPTER. III.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS.

1. *Parentage of BRUTUS.* 2. *His studies.* 3. *He sides with POMPEY.* 4. *He is saved by JULIUS CÆSAR at the battle of PHARSALIA.* 5. *CÆSAR makes him governor of GALLIA CISALPINA. He contends with CASSIUS for the Prætorship of the city.* 6. *He is distrusted by CÆSAR.* 7. *CASSIUS endeavours to gain over BRUTUS to conspire against CÆSAR.* 8. *BRUTUS and CASSIUS induce many to join them in their conspiracy.* 9. *Magnanimity of PORTIA, the daughter of CATO, and wife of BRUTUS.* 10. *Dangers besetting the conspirators.* 11. *PORTIA'S terrors.* 12. *Assassination of CÆSAR.* 13. *Why ANTONIUS was not also slain.* 14. *BRUTUS makes an oration in the Capitol.* 15. *Oration of ANTONIUS at CÆSAR'S funeral.* 16. *Murder of CINNA the Poet, and flight of the conspirators.* 17. *Arrival of OCTAVIUS CÆSAR at Rome.* 18. *BRUTUS leaves ITALY, to the great grief of PORTIA, and arrives at ATHENS.* 19. *He is attacked by the disease called bulimy. He captures CAIUS ANTONIUS.* 20. *Formation of the first Triumvirate.* 21. *Function of the armies of BRUTUS and CASSIUS.* 22. *A comparison of their characters.* 23. *Burning of the city of XANTHUS.* 24. *Noble acts of BRUTUS.* 25. *Quarrel of BRUTUS and CASSIUS.* 26. *Apparition of a spirit to BRUTUS, and appearance of two eagles.* 27. *Preparations for battle.* 28. *The battle of PHILIPPI.* 29. *Defeat and death of CASSIUS.* 30. *Conduct of BRUTUS after the first battle.* 31. *Second battle, and defeat of BRUTUS.* 32. *Death of STATILIUS, and suicide of BRUTUS and of PORTIA.*

ARGUMENT.

I. MARCUS BRUTUS came of that Junius Brutus, for whom the ancient Romans made his statue of brass to be set up in the Capitol, with the images of the kings, holding a naked sword in his hand : because he had valiantly put down the Tarquins from the kingdom of Rome. But that Junius Brutus, being of a sour stern nature not softened by reason, being like unto sword-blades of too hard a temper, was so subject to his choler and malice he bare unto the tyrants, that for their sakes he caused his own sons to be executed. But this Marcus Brutus in contrary manner, whose life we presently write, having framed his manners of life by the rules of virtue and study of philosophy, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in

The parentage of Brutus.

Brutus' manners.

¹ inclined.
Servilia,
M. Brutus'
mother.
² endeavour-
 ed.

³ as regards.

Servilia,
Cato's sister.

Brutus'
studies.

Brutus fol-
lowed the
old Acade-
mics.

attempting of great things, me thinks he was rightly made and framed unto virtue. So that his very enemies which wish him most hurt, because of his conspiracy against Julius Cæsar, if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracy, they refer it wholly unto Brutus; and all the cruel and violent acts unto Cassius, who was Brutus' familiar friend, but not so well given¹ and conditioned as he. His mother Servilia, it is thought, came of the blood of Servilius Hala; who, when Spurius Melius went about² to make himself king, and, to bring it to pass, had enticed the common people to rebel, took a dagger and hid it close under his arm, and went into the market-place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had somewhat to say unto him, and pressed as near him as he could: wherefore Melius stooping down with his head to hear what he would say, Servilius stabbed him in with his dagger and slew him. Thus much all writers agree for³ his mother. Now touching his father, some, for the evil will and malice they bare unto Brutus, because of the death of Julius Cæsar, do maintain, that he came not of Junius Brutus that drove out the Tarquins: for there were none left of his race, considering that his two sons were executed for conspiracy with the Tarquins; and that Marcus Brutus came of a mean house, the which was raised to honour and office in the common-wealth but of late time. Posidonius the Philosopher writeth the contrary, that Junius Brutus indeed slew two of his sons which were men grown, as the histories do declare; howbeit that there was a third son, being but a little child at that time, from whom the house and family afterwards was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his time certain famous men of that family, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of Junius Brutus. And thus much for this matter. Marcus Cato the philosopher was brother unto Servilia, Marcus Brutus' mother: whom Brutus studied most to follow of all the other Romans, because he was his uncle, and afterwards he married his daughter.

2. Now touching the Grecian philosophers, there was no sect nor philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but above all the rest he loved Plato's sect best, and did not much give himself to the new or mean Academy (as they call it), but altogether to the old Academy. Therefore he did ever greatly esteem the philosopher Antiochus, of the city of Ascalon: but he was more familiar with his brother Ariston, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other philosophers, but for

wisdom and courtesy equal with the best and chiefest. Touching Empylus, whom M. Brutus himself doth mention in his Epistles, and his friends also in many places, he was an orator, and left an excellent book he wrote of the death of Julius Cæsar, and entitled it "Brutus". He was properly¹ learned in the Latin tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it: beside that he could also plead very well in Latin. But for the Greek tongue, they do note in some of his epistles, that he counterfeited that brief compendious manner of speech of the Lacedæmonians. As, when the war was begun, he wrote unto the Pergamenians in this sort: "I understand you have given Dolabella money: if you have done it willingly, you confess you have offended me; if against your wills, shew it then by giving me willingly." Another time again unto the Samians: "Your councils be long, your doings be slow, consider the end." And in another Epistle he wrote unto* the Patariæans: "The Xanthians, despising my goodwill, have made their country a grave of despair; and the Patariæans, that put themselves into my protection, have lost no jot of their liberty: and therefore, whilst you have liberty, either choose the judgment of the Patariæans, or the fortune of the Xanthians." These were Brutus' manner of letters, which were honoured for their briefness.

3. So Brutus, being but a young stripling, went into Cyprus with his uncle Cato, who was sent against Ptolemy, king of Egypt; who having slain himself, Cato, staying for certain necessary business he had in the ile² of Rhodes, had already sent Caninius*, one of his friends, before, to keep his treasure and goods. But Cato, fearing he would be light-fingered, wrote unto Brutus forthwith to come out of Pamphilia (where he was but newly recovered of a sickness) into Cyprus; the which he did. The which journey he was sorry to take upon him, both for respect of Caninius' shame, whom Cato (as he thought) wrongfully slandered: as also because he thought this office too mean and unmeet for him, being a young man, and given to his book. This notwithstanding, he behaved himself so honestly and carefully, that Cato did greatly commend him: and after all the goods were sold and converted into ready money, he took the most part of it, and returned withal to Rome. Afterwards, when the empire of Rome was divided into factions, and that Cæsar and Pompey both were in arms one against the other, and that all the empire of Rome was in garboil³ and uproar: it was thought then that Brutus would take part with Cæsar,

Empylus, an orator, wrote a book of Cæsar's death, and entitled it Brutus.

well. Brutus' manner of writing his epistles in Greek.

A brief letter to the Samians.

* See the note.

Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus.

¹ isle.

* Or Caninius.

³ tumult.

*Brutus tak-
eth part
with Pom-
pey.
1 murderer.*

*Brutus
studied in
Pompey's
camp.*

² marshes.

³ scarcely.

⁴ compen-
dium.
*Julius Cæ-
sar careful
of Brutus'
safety.*

*Julius Cæ-
sar loved
Servilia,
Brutus'
mother.*

because Pompey not long before had put his father to death. But Brutus, preferring the respect of his country and commonwealth before private affection, and persuading himself that Pompey had juster cause to enter into arms than Cæsar, he then took part with Pompey; though oftentimes meeting him before, he thought scorn to speak to him, thinking it a great sin and offence in him, to speak to the murtherer¹ of his father. But then, submitting himself unto Pompey as unto the head of the commonwealth, he sailed into Sicily, lieutenant under Sestius that was governor of that province. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploits, and that Cæsar and Pompey were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of himself, unsent for, into Macedon, to be partaker of the danger. It is reported that Pompey, being glad, and wondering at his coming, when he saw him come to him, he rose out of his chair, and went and embraced him before them all, and used him as honorably as he could have done the noblest man that took his part. Brutus, being in Pompey's camp, did nothing but study all day long, except he were with Pompey; and not only the days before, but the self-same day also before the great battle was fought in the fields of Pharsalia, where Pompey was overcome. It was in the midst of summer, and the sun was very hot, besides that the camp was lodged near unto marshes², and they that carried his tent tarried long before they came: whereupon, being very weary with travel, scant³ any meat came into his mouth at dinner-time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morrow after, he fell to his book, and wrote all day long till night, writing a breviary⁴ of Polybius.

4. It is reported that Cæsar did not forget him, and that he gave his captains charge before the battle, that they should beware they killed not Brutus in fight; and if he yielded willingly unto them, that then they should bring him unto him: but if he resisted and would not be taken, then that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for Servilia's sake, Brutus' mother. For when he was a young man, he had been acquainted with Servilia, who was extremely in love with him. And because Brutus was born in that time when their love was hottest, he persuaded himself that he begat him. For proof hereof the report goeth, that when the weightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracy of Catiline, which was likely to have undone the city of Rome, Cæsar and Cato sat near together, and were both of contrary minds to each

other : and then, that in the mean time one delivered Cæsar a letter. Cæsar took it, and read it softly to himself : but Cato cried out upon Cæsar, and said he did not well to receive advertisements from enemies : whereupon the whole Senate began to murmur at it. Then Cæsar gave Cato the letter as it was sent him, who read it, and found that it was a love-letter sent from his sister Servilia : thereupon he cast it again to Cæsar, and said unto him ; " Hold¹, drunken sop²." When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintained his opinion as he did before : so commonly was the love of Servilia known, which she bare unto Cæsar. So, after Pompey's overthrow at the battle of Pharsalia, and that he fled to the sea, when Cæsar came to besiege his camp, Brutus went out of the camp-gates unseen of any man, and leapt into a marish³ full of water and reeds. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went unto the city of Larissa : from whence he wrote unto Cæsar, who was very glad that he had scaped⁴, and sent for him to come unto him. When Brutus was come, he did not only pardon him, but also kept him always about him, and did as much honour and esteem him as any man he had in his company. Now no man could tell whither Pompey was fled, and all were marvellous desirous to know it : wherefore Cæsar walking a good way alone with Brutus, he did ask him which way he thought Pompey took. Cæsar perceiving by his talk that Brutus guessed certainly whither Pompey should be fled, he left all other ways, and took his journey directly towards Egypt. Pompey (as Brutus had conjectured) was indeed fled into Egypt, but there he was villainously slain. Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of Cæsar for Cassius ; and defending also the king* of Lybia's cause, he was overlaid with a world of accusations against him ; howbeit, intreating for him, he saved him the best part of his realm and kingdom. They say also that Cæsar said, when he heard Brutus plead : " I know not," said he, " what this young man would ; but what he would, he willet it vehemently." For as Brutus' gravity and constant mind would not grant all men their requests that sued unto him, but, being moved with reason and discretion, did always incline to that which was good and honest : even so, when it was moved to follow any matter, he used a kind of forcible and vehement persuasion, that calmed not till he had obtained his desire. For by flattering of him a man could never obtain any thing at his hands, nor make him to do that which was unjust. Further, he thought it not meet for a man of

¹ take it.
² winebibber.

Brutus saved by Julius Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia.
³ marsh.

⁴ escaped.

* *This king was Juba : howbeit it is true also, that Brutus made intercession for Deiotarus king of Galatia : who was debarred notwithstanding of the most part of his country by Cæsar ; and therefore this place were best to be understood by Deiotarus.*

calling and estimation, to yield unto the requests and entreaties of a shameless and importunate suitor, requesting things unmeet: the which notwithstanding some men do for shame, because they dare deny nothing: and therefore he was wont to say, "That he thought them evil brought up in their youth, that could deny nothing."

Cæsar made Brutus governor of Gaul on this side the mountains.
¹ plundered.

Brutus and Cassius contend for the Prætorship of the city.
² expected.

³ at variance.
Cassius married Junia, Brutus' sister.

⁴ by.

⁵ pleased.

5. Now when Cæsar took sea to go into Africa against Cato and Scipio, he left Brutus governor of Gaul in Italy on this side of the Alps, which was a great good hap for that province. For where others were spoiled and polled¹ by the insolency and covetousness of the governors, as if it had been a country conquered, Brutus was a comfort and rest unto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholly unto Cæsar's grace and goodness. For when Cæsar returned out of Africa, and progressed up and down Italy, the things that pleased him best to see were the cities under Brutus' charge and government, and Brutus himself; who honoured Cæsar in person, and whose company also Cæsar greatly esteemed. Now there were divers sorts of Prætorships in Rome, and it was looked for², that Brutus or Cassius would make suit for the chiefest Prætorship, which they called the Prætorship of the city: because he that had that office was as a judge, to minister justice unto the citizens. Therefore they strove one against another: though some say, that there was some little grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did set them further out³, though they were allied together: for Cassius had married Junia, Brutus' sister. Others say that this contention betwixt them came by Cæsar himself, who secretly gave either of them both hope of his favour. So their suit for the Prætorship was so followed and laboured of⁴ either party, that one of them put another into suit of law. Brutus with his virtue and good name contended against many noble exploits in arms, which Cassius had done against the Parthians. So Cæsar after he had heard both their objections, told his friends, with whom he consulted about this matter: "Cassius' cause is the juster," said he, "but Brutus must be first preferred." Thus Brutus had the first Prætorship, and Cassius the second: who thanked not Cæsar so much for the Prætorship he had, as he was angry with him for that he had lost. But Brutus in many other things tasted of the benefit of Cæsar's favour in any thing he requested. For if he had listed⁵, he might have been one of Cæsar's chiefest friends, and of greatest authority and credit about him. Howbeit,

Cassius' friends did dissuade him from it (for Cassius and he were not yet reconciled together sithence¹ their first contention and strife for the Prætorship), and prayed him to beware of Cæsar's sweet enticements, and to fly his tyrannical favours: the which they said Cæsar gave him, not to honour his virtue, but to weaken his constant mind, framing it to the bent of his bow.

The first cause of Cassius' malice against Cæsar.
¹ since.

6. Now Cæsar, on the other side, did not trust him overmuch, nor was without tales brought unto him against him: howbeit he feared his great mind, authority, and friends. Yet, on the other side also, he trusted his good nature and fair conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him: he answered "That these fat long-haired men made him not afraid, but the lean and whitely-faced fellows," meaning that by² Brutus and Cassius. At another time also when one accused Brutus unto him, and bad him beware of him: "What," said he again, clapping his hands on his breast, "think ye that Brutus will not tarry till this body die?" meaning that none but Brutus after him was meet to have such power as he had. And surely, (in my opinion) I am persuaded that Brutus might indeed have come to have been the chiefest man of Rome, if he could have contented himself for a time to have been next unto Cæsar, and to have suffered his glory and authority, which he had gotten by his great victories, to consume with time. But Cassius, being a choleric man, and hating Cæsar privately more than he did the tyranny openly, he incensed Brutus against him. It is also reported, that Brutus could evil away with³ the tyranny, and that Cassius hated the tyrant: making many complaints for the injuries he had done him; and amongst others, for that he had taken away his lions from him. Cassius had provided them for his sports when he should be Ædilis; and they were found in the city of Megara, when it was won by Calenus: and Cæsar kept them. The rumour went, that these lions did marvellous great hurt to the Megarians: for when the city was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied up and turned them loose, thinking they would have done great mischief to the enemies, and have kept them from setting upon them: but the lions (contrary to expectation) turned upon themselves that fled unarmed, and did so cruelly tear some in pieces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause (as some do report) that made Cassius conspire against Cæsar. But this holdeth no

Cæsar suspected Brutus.

Cæsar's saying of Brutus.
² with respect to.

Cassius incenseth Brutus against Cæsar.
³ ill put up with.

Cassius' lions in Megara.

*Cassius
enemy of
tyrants.*

¹ blows.

² if.

*How Brutus
was incensed
against
Cæsar.*

³ as regards.
⁴ scrolls.

water: for Cassius, even from his cradle, could not abide any manner of tyrants; as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went unto the same school that Faustus the son of Sylla did. And Faustus, bragging among other boys, highly boasted of his father's kingdom: Cassius rose up on his feet, and gave him two good wirts¹ on the ear. Faustus' governors would have put this matter in suit against Cassius: but Pompey would not suffer them, but caused the two boys to be brought before him, and asked them how the matter came to pass. Then Cassius (as it is written of him) said unto the other: "Go to, Faustus, speak again, and² thou darest, before this nobleman here, the same words that made me angry with thee, that my fists may walk once again about thine ears." Such was Cassius' hot stirring nature. But for³ Brutus, his friends and countrymen, both by divers procurements and sundry rumours of the city, and by many bills⁴ also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For under the image of his ancestor Junius Brutus, (that drave the kings out of Rome) they wrote: "O, that it pleased the gods thou wert now alive, Brutus!" and again, "that thou wert here among us now!" His tribunal or chair, where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of such bills⁴: "Brutus, thou art asleep, and art not Brutus indeed." And of all this Cæsar's flatterers were the cause: who, beside many other exceeding and unspeakable honours they daily devised for him, in the night-time they put diadems upon the heads of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him King, instead of Dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrary, as we have written more at large in Julius Cæsar's life.

⁵ provide
that.

⁶ behaved
them.

⁷ his pre-
sence alone.
⁸ deed.

7. Now when Cassius felt his friends, and did stir them up against Cæsar: they all agreed, and promised to take part with him, so⁵ Brutus were the chief of their conspiracy. For they told him that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so much require men of manhood and courage to draw their swords, as it stood them upon⁶ to have a man of such estimation as Brutus, to make every man boldly think, that by his only presence⁷ the fact⁸ were holy and just. If he took not this course, then that they should go to it with fainter hearts; and when they had done it, they should be more fearful: because every man would think that Brutus would not have refused to have made one with them; if the cause had been good and honest. Therefore Cassius, considering this matter with

*Cassius
prayeth*

himself, did first of all speak to Brutus, since they grew strange¹ together for² the suit they had for the prætorship. So when he was reconciled to him again, and that they had embraced one another, Cassius asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate-house the first day of the month of March, because he heard say that Cæsar's friends should move the council that day, that Cæsar should be called king by the Senate. Brutus answered him, he would not be there. "But if we be sent for," said Cassius, "how then?" "For myself then," said Brutus, "I mean not to hold my peace, but to withstand it, and rather die than lose my liberty." Cassius being bold, and taking hold of this word: "Why," quoth he, "what Roman is he alive that will suffer thee to die for thy liberty? What? knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be cobblers, tapsters, or suchlike base mechanical³ people, that write these bills and scrolls which are found daily in thy prætor's chair, and not the noblest men and best citizens that do it? No; be thou well assured that of⁴ other prætors they look for gifts, common distributions amongst the people, and for common plays, and to see fencers fight at the sharp⁵, to shew the people pastime: but at thy hands they specially require (as a due debt unto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake, so that thou wilt shew thyself to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art." Thereupon he kissed Brutus and embraced him: and so each taking leave of other, they went both to speak with their friends about it. Now amongst Pompey's friends, there was one called Caius* Ligarius, who had been accused unto Cæsar for taking part with Pompey, and Cæsar discharged⁶ him. But Ligarius thanked not Cæsar so much for his discharge⁷, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannical power; and therefore in his heart he was always his mortal enemy, and was besides very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being sick in his bed, and said unto him: "Ligarius, in what a time art thou sick?" Ligarius rising up in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, said unto him: "Brutus," said he, "if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thyself, I am whole."

8. After that time they began to feel all their acquaintance whom they trusted, and laid their heads together, consulting upon it, and did not only pick out their friends, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter,

Brutus first, to help him to put down the tyrant.

¹ at enmity.
² because of.

³ mechanic.

⁴ from.

⁵ with sharp weapons.

** In another place they call him Quintus.
⁶ acquitted.
⁷ acquittal.*

Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the conspiracy.

*They do
hide the
conspiracy
against Cæ-
sar from
Cicero.*

*Civil war
worse than
tyran- ical
government.*

¹ no great
fighter.

² mere.

*The wonder-
ful faith
and secrecy
of the con-
spirators of
Cæsar's
death.*

and that were not afraid to lose their lives. For this cause they durst not acquaint Cicero with their conspiracy, although he was a man whom they loved dearly, and trusted best: for they were afraid that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his fear, he would quite turn and alter all their purpose, and quench the heat of their enterprise, (the which specially required hot and earnest execution), seeking by persuasion to bring all things to such safety, as there should be no peril. Brutus also did let other of his friends alone, as Statilius Epicurian, and Faonius, that made profession to follow Marcus Cato: because that, having cast out words afar off, disputing together in philosophy to feel their minds, Faonius answered, 'that civil war was worse than tyrannical government usurped against the law.' And Statilius told him also, 'that it were an unwise part for him to put his life in danger, for a sort of ignorant fools and asses.' Labeo was present at this talk, and maintained the contrary against them both. But Brutus held his peace, as though it had been a doubtful matter, and a hard thing to have been decided. But afterwards, being out of their company, he made Labeo privy to his intent; who very readily offered himself to make one. And they thought good also to bring in another Brutus to join with him, surnamed Albinus: who was no man of his hands¹ himself, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaves, and fencers at the sharp, whom he kept to shew the people pastime with their fighting, besides also that Cæsar had some trust in him. Cassius and Labeo told Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no answer. But when he had spoken with Brutus himself alone, and that Brutus had told him he was the chief ringleader of all this conspiracy, then he willingly promised him the best aid he could. Furthermore, the only² name and great calling of Brutus did bring on the most of them to give consent to this conspiracy: who having never taken oaths together, nor taken or given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves one to another by any religious oaths, they all kept the matter so secret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding the gods did reveal it by manifest signs and tokens from above, and by predictions of sacrifices, yet all this would not be believed. Now Brutus, who knew very well that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest, and most courageous men of Rome did venture their lives, weighing with himself the greatness of the

danger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and fashion his countenance and looks that no man could discern he had anything to trouble his mind. But when night came that he was in his own house, then he was clean changed: for either care did wake him against his will when he would have slept, or else oftentimes of himself he fell into such deep thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his mind all the dangers that might happen: that his wife, lying by him, found that there was some marvellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking¹, and that he could not well determine with himself.

9. His wife Porcia (as we have told you before) was the daughter of Cato, whom Brutus married being his cousin, not a maiden, but a young widow after the death of her first husband Bibulus, by whom she had also a young son called Bibulus, who afterwards wrote a book of the acts and gests² of Brutus, extant at this present day. This young lady, being excellently well seen³ in philosophy, loving her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wise: because she would not ask her husband what he ailed before she had made some proof by⁴ herself: she took a little razor, such as barbers occupy⁵ to pare men's nails, and, causing her maids and women to go out of her chamber, gave herself a great gash withal in her thigh, that she was straight all of a gore blood⁶: and incontinently⁷ after a vehement fever took her, by reason of the pain of her wound. Then perceiving her husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest, even in her greatest pain of all she spake in this sort unto him: "I being, O Brutus," said she "the daughter of Cato, was married unto thee; not to be thy bed-fellow and companion in bed and at board only, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with thee of thy good and evil fortune. Now for thyself, I can find no cause of fault in thee touching our match: but for my part, how may I shew my duty towards thee and how much I would do for thy sake, if I cannot constantly⁸ bear a secret mischance or grief with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity? I confess that a woman's wit commonly is too weak to keep a secret safely: but yet, Brutus, good education and the company of virtuous men have some power to reform the defect of nature. And for myself, I have this benefit moreover, that I am the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before, until that now I have found by experience that no pain

¹ state.

Porcia, Cato's daughter, wife unto Brutus. Bibulus' book of Brutus' acts.

Porcia studied in philosophy.

² doings.
³ well versed.
The courage of Porcia.

⁴ of.
⁵ use.

⁶ covered with gore.
⁷ immediately.

Great difference between a wife and a harlot. Porcia's words unto her husband Brutus.

⁸ with constancy.

or grief whatsoever can overcome me." With those words she shewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to prove herself. Brutus was amazed to hear what she said unto him, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good pass¹, that he might be found a husband worthy of so noble a wife as Porcia: so he then did comfort her the best he could.

10. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped Cæsar would not fail to come, the conspirators determined then to put their enterprise in execution, because they might meet safely at that time without suspicion; and the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the city would be there: who, when they should see such a great matter executed, would every man set to² their hands, for the defence of their liberty. Furthermore they thought also, that the appointment of the place where the council should be kept was chosen of purpose³ by divine providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the theatre, in the which there was a certain place full of seats for men to sit in; where also was set up the image of Pompey, which the city had made and consecrated in honour of him, when he did beautify that part of the city with the theatre he built, with divers porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the month March, which the Romans call *Idus Martias*: so that it seemed some god of purpose³ had brought Cæsar thither to be slain, for revenge of Pompey's death. So when the day was come, Brutus went out of his house with a dagger by his side under his long gown, that nobody saw nor knew but his wife only. The other conspirators were all assembled at Cassius' house, to bring his son into the market-place, who on that day did put on the man's gown, called *toga virilis*; and from thence they came all in a troop together unto Pompey's porch, looking⁴ that Cæsar would straight come thither. But here is to be noted the wonderful assured constancy of these conspirators, in so dangerous and weighty an enterprise as they had undertaken. For many of them being prætors, by reason of their office (whose duty is to minister justice to everybody) did not only with great quietness and courtesy hear them that spake unto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive ear as if they had no other matter in their heads:

¹ success.

² affix.

³ on purpose.

⁴ expecting.
The wonderful constancy of the conspirators in killing of Cæsar.

but moreover they gave just sentence, and carefully despatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who, being condemned in a certain sum of money, refused to pay it, and cried out that he did appeal unto Cæsar. Then Brutus, casting his eyes upon the conspirators, said: "Cæsar shall not let¹ me to see the law executed." Notwithstanding this, by chance there fell out many misfortunes unto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The first and chiefest was Cæsar's long tarrying, who came very late to the Senate: for, because the signs of the sacrifices appeared unlucky, his wife Calphurnia kept him at home, and the soothsayers bade him beware he went not abroad. The second cause was, when one came unto Casca being a conspirator, and taking him by the hand, said unto him: "O Casca, thou kepest it close from me, but Brutus hath told me all." Casca being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and said: "Why, how now, how cometh it to pass thou art thus rich, that thou dost sue to be Ædilis?" Thus Casca being deceived by the other's doubtful words, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracy. Another Senator, called Popilius Læna, after he had saluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly than he was wont to do, he rounded² softly in their ears, and told them: "I pray the gods you may go through with that you have taken in hand; but withal, despatch, I reade³ you, for your enterprise is bewrayed⁴." When he had said, he presently⁵ departed from them, and left them both afraid that their conspiracy would out.

11. Now in the meantime, there came one of Brutus' men post-haste unto him, and told him his wife was a-dying. For Porcia, being very careful⁶ and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weak to away with⁷ so great and inward grief of mind, she could hardly keep within, but was frightened with every little noise and cry she heard, as those that are taken and possessed with the fury of the Bacchantes; asking every man that came from the market-place what Brutus did, and still⁸ sent messenger after messenger, to know what news. At length Cæsar's coming being prolonged (as you have heard), Porcia's weakness was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she suddenly swooned⁹, that she had no leisure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soon came to herself again, and so was laid in her bed, and attended by her women. When Brutus heard these news, it grieved him, as it is

¹ hinder.
Sundry misfortunes to have broken off the enterprise.

² whispered.

³ advise.

⁴ betrayed.
⁵ immediately.

The weakness of Porcia, notwithstanding her former courage.
⁶ anxious.
⁷ endure.

⁸ constantly.

⁹ swooned.

to be presupposed: yet he left not off the care of his country and commonwealth, neither went home to his house for any news he heard.

12. Now it was reported that Cæsar was coming in his litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he was afraid of the unlucky signs of the sacrifices) but to adjourn matters of importance unto the next session and council holden, feigning himself not to be well at ease. When Cæsar came out of his litter, Popilius Læna (that had talked before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the gods they might bring this enterprise to pass) went unto Cæsar, and kept him a long time with a talk. Cæsar gave good ear unto him: wherefore the conspirators (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to Cæsar, but conjecturing by that he had told them a little before that his talk was none other but the very discovery of their conspiracy, they were afraid every man of them; and, one looking in another's face, it was easy to see that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands. And when Cassius and certain other¹ clapped their hands on their swords under their gowns to draw them, Brutus, marking the countenance and gesture of Læna, and considering that he did use himself rather like an humble and earnest suitor than like an accuser, he said nothing to his companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracy), but with a pleasant countenance encouraged Cassius. And immediately after Læna went from Cæsar, and kissed his hand; which shewed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himself that he had held him so long in talk. Now all the Senators being entered first into this place or chapter-house where the council should be kept, all the other conspirators straight stood about Cæsar's chair, as if they had had something to say unto him. And some say that Cassius, casting his eyes upon Pompey's image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had been alive. Trebonius* on the other side drew Antonius aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sat, and held him with a long talk without. When Cæsar was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his coming in. So when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one Tullius Cimber†, who made humble suit for the calling home again of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessors

¹ others.

Brutus with his countenance encouraged his fearful consorts.

** In Cæsar's life it is said, it was Decius Brutus Albinus that kept Antonius with a talk without.*

† In Cæsar's life he is called Metellus Cimber.

for him, and took Cæsar by the hands, and kissed his head and breast. Cæsar at the first simply refused their kindness and entreaties; but afterwards, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Cæsar's gown over his shoulders, and Casca, that stood behind him, drew his dagger first and strake Cæsar upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. Cæsar, feeling himself hurt, took him straight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: "O traitor Casca, what dost thou?" Casca on the other side cried in Greek, and called his brother to help him. So divers running on a heap together to fly upon Cæsar, he, looking about him to have fled, saw Brutus with a sword drawn in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let Casca's hand go, and casting his gown over his face, suffered every man to strike at him that would. Then the conspirators thronging one upon another, because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloodied¹.

13. Cæsar being slain in this manner, Brutus, standing in the midst² of the house, would have spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracy, to have told them the reason why they had done this fact³. But they, as men both afraid and amazed, fled one upon another's neck in haste to get out at the door, and no man followed them. For it was set down and agreed between them, that they should kill no man but Cæsar only, and should intreat⁴ all the rest to look to defend their liberty. All the conspirators, but Brutus, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with soldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them: and especially having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authority at that time, being Consul with Cæsar. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest⁵: secondly, because he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust but that Antonius, being a noble-minded and courageous man, (when he should know that Cæsar was dead), would willingly help his country to recover her liberty, having them an example unto him to follow

*The murder
of Cæsar.
Casca the
first that
wounded
him.*

¹ stained
with blood.

² midst.

³ deed.

⁴ entreat.

*Why An-
tonius was
not slain
with Cæsar.
⁵ honour-
able.*

*Brutus with
his consorts
went unto
the Capitol.*

¹ murder.

² a troop.

³ turbulent
men.

their courage and virtue. So Brutus by this means saved Antonius' life, who at that present time disguised himself and stole away: but Brutus and his consorts, having their swords bloody in their hands, went straight to the Capitol, persuading the Romans as they went to take their liberty again. Now at the first time, when the murther¹ was newly done, there were sudden outcries of people that ran up and down the city, the which indeed did the more increase the fear and tumult. But when they saw they slew no man, neither did spoil or make havoc of anything, then certain of the Senators and many of the people; emboldening themselves, went to the Capitol unto them.

14. There, a great number of men being assembled together one after another, Brutus made an oration unto them, to win the favour of the people, and to justify that they had done. All those that were by said they had done well, and cried unto them that they should boldly come down from the Capitol: whereupon Brutus and his companions came boldly down into the market-place. The rest followed in troupe², but Brutus went foremost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the city, which brought him from the Capitol, through the market-place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels³ of all sorts, and had a good will to make some stir; yet, being ashamed to do it, for the reverence they bare unto Brutus, they kept silence to hear what he would say. When Brutus began to speak, they gave him quiet audience: howbeit, immediately after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther¹. For when another, called Cinna, would have spoken, and began to accuse Cæsar, they fell into a great uproar among them, and marvellously reviled him; insomuch that the conspirators returned again into the Capitol. There Brutus, being afraid to be besieged, sent back again the noblemen that came thither with him, thinking it no reason that they, which were no partakers of the murther¹, should be partakers of the danger. Then the next morning, the Senate being assembled, and holden within the temple of the goddess Tellus, to wit, the Earth: and Antonius, Plancus, and Cicero, having made a motion to the Senate in that assembly that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to establish friendship and peace again: it was decreed, that they should not only be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should refer it to the Senate, what honours should be appointed unto them. This

being agreed upon, the Senate brake up; and Antonius the Consul, to put them in heart that were in the Capitol, sent them his son for a pledge. Upon this assurance, Brutus and his companions came down from the Capitol, where every man saluted and embraced each other; among the which Antonius himself did bid¹ Cassius to supper to him, and Lepidus also bade Brutus; and so one bade another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together.

Honours decreed for the murderers of Cæsar.

¹ invite.

15. The next day following, the Senate, being called again to council, did first of all commend Antonius, for that he had wisely stayed² and quenched the beginning of a civil war: then they also gave Brutus and his consorts great praises; and lastly they appointed them several governments of Provinces. For unto Brutus they appointed Creta; Africa unto Cassius; Asia unto Trebonius; Bithynia unto Cimber; and unto the other, Decius Brutus Albinus, Gaul on this side of the Alps. When this was done, they came to talk of Cæsar's will and testament and of his funerals and tomb. Then Antonius, thinking good his testament should be read openly, and also that his body should be honourably buried, and not in hugger-mugger³, lest the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise: Cassius stoutly spake against it. But Brutus went with the motion, and agreed unto it; wherein it seemeth he committed a second fault. For the first fault he did, was when he would not consent to his fellow-conspirators, that Antonius should be slain; and therefore he was justly accused, that thereby he had saved and strengthened a strong and grievous enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed that Cæsar's funerals should be as Antonius would have them, the which indeed marred all. For first of all, when Cæsar's testament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome 75 drachmas a man; and that he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on this side of the river Tiber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loved him, and were marvellous sorry for him. Afterwards, when Cæsar's body was brought into the market-place, Antonius making his funeral oration in praise of the dead, according to the ancient custom of Rome, and perceiving that his words moved the common people to compassion, he framed his eloquence to make their hearts yearn the more; and taking Cæsar's gown all bloody in his hand, he laid it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a

² prevented.

Cæsar's will and funerals.
³ in secrecy.

Brutus committed two great faults after Cæsar's death.

Antonius' funeral oration for Cæsar.

number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithal the people fell presently into such a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cried out, "Kill the murtherers:" others plucked up forms, tables, and stalls about the market-place, as they had done before at the funerals of Clodius, and having laid them all on a heap together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of Cæsar, and burnt it in the mids¹ of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly² kindled, some here, some there, took burning firebrands, and ran with them to the murtherers' houses that killed him, to set them on fire. Howbeit the conspirators, foreseeing the danger before, had wisely provided for themselves and fled.

16. But there was a poet called Cinna, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was always one of Cæsar's chiefest friends: he dreamed, the night before, that Cæsar bad him to supper with him, and that, he refusing to go, Cæsar was very importunate with him, and compelled him; so that at length he led him by the hand into a great dark place, where, being marvellously afraid, he was driven to follow him in spite of his heart³. This dream put him all night into a fever; and yet notwithstanding, the next morning, when he heard that they carried Cæsar's body to burial, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals, he went out of his house, and thrust himself into the prease⁴ of the common people that were in a great uproar. And because some one called him by his name Cinna, the people, thinking he had been that Cinna who in an oration he made had spoken very evil of Cæsar, they, falling upon him in their rage, slew him outright in the market-place. This made Brutus and his companions more afraid than any other thing, next unto the change of Antonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the first in the city of Antium, hoping to return again to Rome, when the fury of the people was a little assuaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, considering that they had to deal with a fickle and unconstant⁵ multitude, easy to be carried⁶, and that the Senate stood for them: who notwithstanding made no enquiry for them that had torn poor Cinna the poet in pieces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended that went with firebrands to set fire on the conspirators' houses. The people growing weary now of Antonius' pride and insolency, who ruled all things in a manner⁷ with absolute power, they desired that Brutus might return again; and it was also looked

¹ midst.² thoroughly.

The strange dream of Cinna the poet.

³ wish.

⁴ press, throng.
The murder of Cinna the poet, being mistaken for another of that name.

Brutus and his consorts do fly from Rome.

⁵ inconstant.⁶ persuaded.⁷ as it were.

for¹ that Brutus would come himself in person to play the plays which were due to the people, by reason of his office of prætorship. But Brutus, understanding that many of Cæsar's soldiers which served under him in the wars, and that also had lands and houses given them in the cities where they lay², did lie in wait for him to kill him, and that they daily by small companies came by one and by one into Rome, he durst no more return thither: but yet the people had the pleasure and pastime in his absence, to see the games and sports he made them, which were sumptuously set forth and furnished with all things necessary, sparing for no cost. For he had brought a great number of strange beasts, of the which he would not give one of them to any friend he had, but that they should all be employed in his games: and went himself as far as Byzantium, to speak to some players of comedies and musicians that were there. And further he wrote unto his friends for one Canutius, an excellent player, that, whatsoever they did, they should entreat him to play in these plays. "For," said he, "it is no reason³ to compel any Grecian, unless he will come of his own good will." Moreover he wrote also unto Cicero, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these plays.

17. Now the state of Rome standing in these terms, there fell out another change and alteration, when the young man Octavius Cæsar came to Rome. He was the son of Julius Cæsar's niece, whom he had adopted for his son, and made his heir, by his last will and testament. But when Julius Cæsar, his adopted father, was slain, he was in the city of Apollonia (where he studied) tarrying for him, because he was determined to make war with the Parthians: but when he heard the news of his death, he returned again to Rome. Where, to begin to curry favour with the common people, he first of all took upon him his adopted father's name, and made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed unto them. By this means he troubled Antonius sorely, and by force of money got a great number of his father's soldiers together, that had served in the wars with him. And Cicero himself, for the great malice he bare Antonius, did favour his proceedings: but Brutus marvelously reprovèd him for it, and wrote unto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sorry to have a master, but only to be afraid to have one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the commonwealth did witness, that he chose to be subject to a mild and courteous bondage, sith⁴ by his words and writings

¹ expected.

² lodged

*Brutus' plays
and sports
at Rome in
his absence.*

³ it is useless.

*Octavius
Cæsar's
coming to
Rome.*

*Brutus
reprovèd
Cicero for
taking part
with Octa-
vius Cæsar.*

⁴ since.

he did commend this young man Octavius Cæsar to be a good and gentle lord. "For our predecessors," said he, "would never abide to be subject to any masters, how gentle or mild soever they were:" and, 'for his own part, that he had never resolutely determined with himself to make war, or peace; but otherwise, that he was certainly minded never to be slave nor subject. And therefore he wondered much at him, how Cicero could be afraid of the danger of civil wars, and would not be afraid of a shameful peace: and that, to thrust Antonius out of the usurped tyranny, in recompense he went about¹ to establish young Octavius Cæsar tyrant.' These were the contents of Brutus' first letters he wrote unto Cicero.

18. Now the city of Rome being divided in two factions, some taking part with Antonius, others also leaning unto Octavius Cæsar, and the soldiers making portsale² of their service to him that would give most: Brutus, seeing the state of Rome would be utterly overthrown, he determined to go out of Italy, and went on foot through the country of Luke³, unto the city of Elea, standing by the sea. There Porcia, being ready to depart from her husband Brutus, and to return to Rome, did what she could to dissemble the grief and sorrow she felt at her heart: but a certain painted table⁴ bewrayed⁵ her in the end, although until that time she shewed always a constant and patient mind. The device of the table was taken out of the Greek stories, how Andromaché accompanied her husband Hector when he went out of the city of Troy to go to the wars, and how Hector delivered her his little son, and how her eyes were never off him. Porcia seeing this picture, and likening herself to be in the same case, she fell a-weeping: and coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still⁶. Acilius, one of Brutus' friends, perceiving that, rehearsed the verses Andromaché speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

"Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother,
And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not any other."

Then Brutus smiling, answered again: "But yet," said he, "I cannot for my part say unto Porcia, as Hector answered Andromaché in the same place of the poet:

Tush, meddle thou with duly weighing out
Thy maids their task, and pricking on a clout.

For indeed the weak constitution of her body doth not suffer her to perform in shew the valiant acts that we are able to do:

¹ endeavoured.

² sale of attendance and service.

³ Lucania.

Porcia's sorrowful return to Rome, for the absence of her husband Brutus.

⁴ picture.

⁵ betrayed.
The story of Hector and Andromache set forth in painted tables.

⁶ continually.

but for courage and constant mind, she shewed herself as stout, in the defence of her country, as any of us." Bibulus, the son of Porcia, reporteth this story thus. Now Brutus embarking at Elea in Luke¹, he sailed directly towards Athens. When he arrived there, the people of Athens received him with common joys of rejoicing and honourable decrees made for him. He lay² with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to hear the lectures of Theomnestus the Academic philosopher, and of Cratippus the Peripatetic, and so would talk with them in philosophy, that he seemed he left all other matters, and gave himself only to study: howbeit secretly, notwithstanding, he made preparation for war. For he sent Herostratus into Macedon, to win the captains and soldiers that were upon those marches³, and he did also entertain all the young gentlemen of the Romans, whom he found in Athens studying philosophy: amongst them he found Cicero's son, whom he highly praised and commended, saying: "That, whether he waked or slept, he found him of a noble mind and disposition, he did in nature so much hate tyrants." Shortly after, he began to enter openly into arms: and being advertised⁴ that there came out of Asia a certain fleet of Roman ships that had got good store of money in them, and that the captain of those ships (who was an honest man and his familiar friend) came towards Athens: he went to meet him as far as the ile⁵ of Carystos, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so that he was contented to leave his ships in his hands: whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his birthday. When the feast-day came, and that they began to drink lustily one to another, the guests drank to the victory of Brutus and the liberty of the Romans. Brutus therefore, to encourage them farther, called for a bigger cup; and, holding it in his hand, before he drank spake this aloud:

"My destiny and Phœbus are agreed
To bring me to my final end with speed."

And for proof hereof it is reported, that, the same day he fought his last battle by the city of Philippos⁶, as he came out of his tent, he gave them for the word and signal of battle, 'Phœbus': so that it was thought ever since, that this his sudden crying out at the feast was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gave him, of the money he carried into Italy, fifty myriads. Furthermore, all Pompey's soldiers, that straggled up and down Thessaly, came with very good will

¹ Lucania.
How Brutus bestowed his time at Athens.

² lodged.

Brutus prepared himself to war.
³ in those borders.

Brutus commendeth Cicero's son.

⁴ warned.

⁵ isle.

⁶ Philippi.

¹ Demetrias.² anticipate.

*A strange
disease took
Brutus at
Dyrra-
chium.
Why by
snow this
hungry
disease
taketh men
that are
wearied
with travel.*

³ voracious.⁴ insatiable.⁵ snowed.

*Brutus'
thankfulness
and cle-
mency.*

⁶ won.⁷ treat.

unto him. He took from Cinna also five hundred horsemen, which he carried into Asia unto Dolabella. After that, he went by sea unto the city of Demetriade¹, and there took a great deal of armour and munition which was going to Antonius: and the which had been made and forged there by Julius Cæsar's commandment, for the wars against the Parthians. Furthermore Hortensius, governor of Macedon, did resign the government thereof unto him. Besides, all the princes, kings, and noblemen thereabouts, came and joined with him, when it was told him, that Caius (Antonius' brother) coming out of Italy, had passed the sea, and came with great speed towards the city of Dyrrachium, and Apollonia, to get the soldiers into his hands which Gabinus had there. Brutus therefore, to prevent² him, went presently with a few of his men in the midst of winter when it did snow hard, and took his way through hard and foul countries, and made such speed indeed, that he was there long before Antonius' sumpters that carried the victuals.

19. So that when he came near to Dyrrachium, a disease took him, which the physicians call *βουλιμία*, to say, a cormorant³ and unsatiable⁴ appetite to eat; by reason of the cold and pains he had taken. This sickness chanceth often both to men and beasts, that travel when it hath snowen⁵: either because the natural heat, being retired into the inward parts of the body, by the coldness of the air hardening the skin, doth straight digest and consume the meat: or else because a sharp subtle wind, coming by reason of the snow when it is molten, doth pierce into the body, and driveth out the natural heat which was cast outward. For it seemeth that the heat, being quenched with the cold which it meeteth withal coming out of the skin of the body, causeth the sweats that follow the disease. But hereof we have spoken at large in other places. Brutus being very faint, and having nothing in his camp to eat, his soldiers were compelled to go to their enemies; and coming to the gates of the city, they prayed the warders to help them to bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was, they brought him both meat and drink: in requital whereof, afterwards, when he wan⁶ the city, he did not only intreat⁷ and use the citizens thereof courteously, but all the inhabitants of the city also for their sakes. Now when Caius Antonius was arrived in the city of Apollonia, he sent unto the soldiers thereabouts to come unto him. But when he understood that they went all to Brutus, and furthermore, that the citizens of Apollonia did favour him much,

he then forsook that city and went unto the city of Buthrotus; but yet he lost three of his ensigns¹ by the way, that were slain every man of them. Then he sought by force to win certain places of strength about Byllis, and to drive Brutus' men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore, to obtain his purpose, he sought a battle with Cicero, the son of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whom he was overcome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a captain, and did many notable exploits by his service. Shortly after, having stolen upon Caius Antonius in certain marshes² far from the place from whence he fled, he would not set on him with fury but only rode round about him, commanding his soldiers to spare him and his men, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striking. And so indeed it happened: for they yielded themselves and their captain Antonius unto Brutus; so that Brutus had now a great army about him. Now Brutus kept this Caius Antonius long time in his office, and never took from him the marks and signs of his Consulship, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote unto him to put him to death. But when he saw Antonius secretly practised³ with his captains to make some alteration, then he sent him into a ship, and made him to be kept there. When the soldiers whom Caius Antonius had corrupted were gotten into the city of Apollonia, and sent from thence unto Brutus to come unto them, he made them answer, "That it was not the manner of Roman captains to come to the soldiers, but the soldiers to come to the captain, and to crave pardon for their offences committed." Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them.

20. So Brutus preparing to go into Asia, news came unto him of the great change at Rome: for Octavius Cæsar was in arms, by commandment and authority from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But after that he had driven Antonius out of Italy, the Senate began then to be afraid of him, because he sued to be Consul, which was contrary to the law; and kept a great army about him when the empire of Rome had no need of them. On the other side Octavius Cæsar, perceiving the Senate stayed not there, but turned unto Brutus that was out of Italy, and that they appointed him the government of certain provinces: then he began to be afraid for his part, and sent unto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then coming on with his army near to Rome, he made himself to be chosen Consul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but

¹ companies.

² marshes.

*C. Antonius
yielded unto
Brutus.*

³ conspired.

*Octavius
Cæsar
joineth with
Antonius.*

¹ youngster.

Brutus accused and condemned, by Octavius Cæsar's means, for the death of Julius Cæsar.

² at once.³ rumour.

The Triumvirate.

⁴ publish lists.

C. Antonius murdered.

a stripling or springall¹ of twenty years old, as himself reporteth in his own Commentaries. So when he was Consul, he presently² appointed judges, to accuse Brutus and his companions for killing of the noblest person in Rome and chiefest magistrate without law or judgment: and made L. Cornificius accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa, Cassius. So the parties accused were condemned, because the Judges were compelled to give such sentence. The voice³ went, that when the herald (according to the custom after sentence given) went up to the chair or pulpit for orations, and proclaimed 'Brutus' with a loud voice, summoning him to appear in person before the judges, the people that stood by sighed openly, and the noblemen that were present hung down their heads, and durst not speak a word. Among them the tears fell from Publius Silicius' eyes: who, shortly after, was one of the proscribed or outlaws appointed to be slain. After that, these three, Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement between themselves, and by those articles divided the provinces belonging to the empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up bills⁴ of proscription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number Cicero was one. News being brought thereof into Macedon, Brutus, being then enforced to do it, wrote unto Hortensius that he should put Caius Antonius to death, to be revenged of the death of Cicero and of the other Brutus, of the which the one was his friend, and the other a kinsman. For this cause therefore Antonius afterwards, taking Hortensius at the battle of Philippes, he made him to be slain upon his brother's tomb. But when Brutus said that, he was more ashamed of the cause for the which Cicero was slain than he was otherwise sorry for his death; and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he had at Rome, who were slayes more through their own fault than through their valiantness or manhood which usurped the tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and faint-hearted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should only have grieved them to the heart.

21. Now when Brutus had passed over his army (that was very great) into Asia, he gave order for the gathering of a great number of ships together, as well in the coast of Bithynia, as also in the city of Cyzicum, because he would have an army by sea; and himself in the meantime went unto the cities, taking order for⁵ all things, and giving audience to princes and noblemen &

⁵ arranging.

the country that had to do with him. Afterwards he sent unto Cassius in Syria, to turn him from his journey into Egypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdom for themselves that they wandered up and down in that sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their country again to her liberty: and that the multitude of soldiers they gathered together was to subdue the tyrants that would keep them in slavery and subjection. Wherefore, regarding their chief purpose and intent, they should not be far from Italy, as near as they could possible, but should rather make all the haste they could, to keep their countrymen. Cassius believed him, and returned. Brutus went to meet him, and they both met at the city of Smyrna, which was the first time that they saw together since they took leave each of other at the haven of Piræa in Athens, the one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they were marvellous joyful, and no less courageous, when they saw the great armies together which they had both levied: considering that they departed out of Italy like naked and poor banished men, without armour and money, nor having any ship ready nor soldier about them, nor any one town at their commandment; yet notwithstanding, in a short time after, they were now met together, having ships, money, and soldiers enough, both footmen and horsemen, to fight for the empire of Rome.

22. Now Cassius would have done Brutus much honour, as Brutus did unto him, but Brutus most commonly prevented¹ him, and went first unto him, both because he was the elder man as also for that he was sickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilful in wars, but otherwise marvellous choleric and cruel, who sought to rule men by fear rather than with lenity: and on the other side, he was too familiar with his friends, and would jest too broadly with them. But Brutus, in contrary manner, for his virtue and valiantness, was well beloved of the people and his own, esteemed of noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies; because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble-minded, and would never be in any rage, nor carried away with pleasure and covetousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yield to any wrong or injustice; the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the goodwill that every man bare him: for they were all persuaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly believe that, if Pompey himself had overcome Cæsar, he would have resigned

Brutus and Cassius do join armies together.

¹ anticipated.

The sharp and cruel conditions of Cassius.

Brutus' gentle and fair conditions.

Brutus' intent good, if he had overcome.

his authority to the law, but rather they were of opinion that he would still keep the sovereignty and absolute government in his hands, taking only, to please the people, the title of Consul, or Dictator, or of some other more civil office. And as for Cassius, a hot, choleric, and cruel man, that would oftentimes be carried away from justice for gain, it was certainly thought that he made war and put himself into sundry dangers, more to have absolute power and authority than to defend the liberty of his country. For they that will also consider others that were elder men than they, as Cinna, Marinius, and Carbo, it is out of doubt that the end and hope of their victory was to be the lords of their country, and in manner they did all confess that they fought for the tyranny, and to be lords of the empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies themselves did never reprove Brutus for any such change or desire. For it was said that Antonius spake it openly divers times, that he thought, that of all them that had slain Cæsar, there was none but Brutus only that was moved to do it, as thinking the act commendable of itself: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice or envy, that they otherwise did bear unto him. Hereby it appeareth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his army as he did to his own virtue, as it is to be seen by his writings. For approaching near to the instant¹ danger, he wrote unto Pomponius Atticus that his affairs had the best hap that could be. "For," said he, "either I will set my country at liberty by battle, or by honourable death rid me of this bondage." And furthermore, that they being certain and assured of all things else, this one thing only was doubtful to them: whether they should live or die with liberty. He wrote also that Antonius had his due payment for his folly: "for where² he might have been a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, and have made one with them, he liked better to choose to be joined with Octavius Cæsar alone: with whom, though now he be not overcome by us, yet shall he shortly after also have war with him." And truly he proved a true prophet, for so came it indeed to pass. Now whilst Brutus and Cassius were together in the city of Smyrna, Brutus prayed Cassius to let him have some part of his money whereof he had great store; because all that he could rap and rend³ of his side, he had bestowed it in making so great a number of ships, that by means of them they should keep all the sea at their commandment. Cassius' friends hindered this

Antonius' testimony of Brutus.

¹ imminent.

Brutus' noble mind to his country.

² whereas.

Brutus a true prophet of Antonius.

³ obtain by any means.

request and earnestly dissuaded him from it, persuading him, that it was no reason that Brutus should have the money which Cassius had gotten together by sparing and levied with great evil will of the people their subjects, for him to bestow liberally upon his soldiers, and by this means to win their good wills, by Cassius' charge¹. This notwithstanding, Cassius gave him the third part of this total sum. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from each other, Cassius took the city of Rhodes, where he too dishonestly and cruelly used himself: although, when he came into the city, he answered some of the inhabitants who called him lord and king, that he was neither lord nor king, but he² only that had slain him that would have been lord and king.

¹ at Cassius' expense.

Cassius won the city of Rhodes.

² i.e. the man.

23. Brutus, departing from thence, sent unto the Lycians to require³ money and men of war. But there was a certain orator called Naucrates, that made the cities to rebel against him, insomuch that the countrymen of that country kept the straights⁴ and little mountains, thinking by that means to stop Brutus' passage. Wherefore Brutus sent his horsemen against them, who stole upon them as they were at dinner, and slew six hundred of them: and taking all the small towns and villages, he did let all the prisoners he took go without payment of ransom, hoping by this his great courtesy to win them, to draw all the rest of the country unto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that they would mutine⁵ for every small hurt they received as he passed by their country, and did despise his courtesy and good nature: until that at length he went to besiege the city of the Xanthians, within the which were shut up the cruellest and most warlike men of Lycia. There was a river that ran by the walls of the city, in the which many men saved themselves, swimming between two waters, and fled: howbeit they laid nets overthwart the river, and tied little bells on the top of them, to sound when any man was taken in the nets. The Xanthians made a sally out by night, and came to fire certain engines of the battery that beat down their walls: but they were presently⁶ driven in again by the Romans, so soon as they were discovered. The wind by chance was marvellous big, and increased the flame so sore, that it violently carried it into the cranewes⁷ of the wall of the city, that the next⁸ houses unto them were straight set on fire thereby. Wherefore Brutus being afraid that all the city would take ~~on~~ fire⁹, he presently⁶ commanded his men

³ ask for.

⁴ straits, passes.
Brutus' gestic in Lycia.

⁵ mutiny.

The city of Xanthus set on fire.

⁶ at once.

⁷ crannies.

⁸ nearest.

⁹ take fire.

*The desperate end
of the
Xanthians.*
¹ ramparts.

to quench the fire, and to save the town if it might be. But the Lycians at that instant fell into such a frenzy and strange and horrible despair, that no man can well express it: and a man cannot more rightly compare or liken it than to a frantic and most desperate desire to die. For all of them together, with their wives and children, masters and servants, and of all sorts of age whatsoever, fought upon the rampiers¹ of their walls and did cast down stones and fire-works on the Romans, which were very busy in quenching the flame of the fire, to save the city. And in contrary manner also, they brought faggots, dry wood, and reeds, to bring the fire further into the city as much as might be, increasing it by such things as they brought. Now when the fire had gotten into all parts of the city, and that the flame burnt bright in every place, Brutus, being sorry to see it, got upon his horse, and rode round about the walls of the city, to see if it were possible for to save it, and held up his hands to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their city, and to save themselves. Howbeit they would not be persuaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselves away, not only men and women, but also little children. For some of them, weeping and crying out, did cast themselves into the fire: others, headlong throwing themselves down from the walls, brake their necks: others also made their backs bare to the naked swords of their fathers, and undid their clothes, praying them to kill them with their own hands. After the city was burnt, they found a woman hanged up by the neck, holding one of her children in her hand dead by her, hanged up also, and in the other hand a burning torch setting fire on² her house. Some would have had Brutus to have seen her, but he would not see so horrible and tragical a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a-weeping, and caused an herald to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would give a certain sum of money to every soldier that could save a Xanthian. So there were not (as it is reported) above fifty of them saved, and yet they were saved against their wills. Thus the Xanthians having ended the revolution of their fatal destiny after a long continuance of time, they did through their desperation renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of their ancestors, who in like manner, in the wars of the Persians, did burn their city, and destroyed themselves. Therefore Brutus, likewise besieging the city of the Patareians, perceiving that they stoutly resisted him, he was also afraid of that, and

² to.

could not well tell whether he should give assault to it or not, lest they would fall into the despair and desperation of the Xanthians. Howbeit, having taken certain of their women prisoners, he sent them back again without payment of ransom. Now they that were the wives and daughters of the noblest men of the city, reporting unto their parents that they had found Brutus a merciful, just, and courteous man, they persuaded them to yield themselves and their city unto him; the which they did. So after they had thus yielded themselves, divers other cities also followed them, and did the like: and found Brutus more merciful and courteous than they thought they should have done, but specially far above Cassius. For Cassius, about the self-same time, after he had compelled the Rhodians every man to deliver all the ready money they had in gold and silver in their houses, the which, being brought together, amounted to the sum of eight thousand talents: yet he condemned the city besides, to pay the sum of five hundred talents more. Where¹ Brutus in contrary manner, after he had levied of all the country of Lycia but an hundred and fifty talents only, he departed thence into the country of Ionia, and did them no more hurt.

24. Now Brutus, in all this journey, did many notable acts and worthy of memory, both for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserved it: wherefore, among the rest, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himself and all the noblemen of the Romans were marvellous glad. When Pompey the Great (having lost the battle against Julius Cæsar, in the fields of Pharsalia) came and fell upon the coast of Egypt, hard by the city of Pelusium, those that were protectors to the young king Ptolemy, being then but a child, sat in counsel with his servants and friends, what they should determine in that case. They were not all of one mind in this consultation: for some thought it good to receive Pompey: others also, that they should drive him out of Egypt. But there was a certain rhetorician called Theodotus, that was born in the isle of Chio, who was the king's schoolmaster to teach him rhetoric. He, being called to the council for lack of sufficient men, said, "That both the one and the other side went awry², as well those that were of opinion to receive Pompey as the other that would have had him driven away: and that the best way was (considering the present time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him;" adding withal this sentence³, "that a dead man biteth not." The whole council stuck to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredi-

The Patarians do yield themselves unto Brutus.

The extreme covetousness and cruelty of Cassius to the Rhodians.

¹ Whereas. Brutus' clemency unto the Lycians.

Theodotus, born in Chio, a rhetorician, schoolmaster to Ptolemy the young king of Egypt.
² wrong.

³ proverb. Theodotus' saying, 'A

*dead man
biteth not.*

*Theodotus
Chian, the
rhetorician
that gave
counsel to
kill Pompey,
was put to
death by
Brutus.
1 won.*

*Brutus and
Cassius do
meet at the
city of
Sardis.*

*Brutus' and
Cassius' com-
plaints one
unto the
other.
2 retire.*

3 outside.

*M. Phaonius
a follower
of Cato.*

4 mad.

5 attempted.

6 useless.

7 hinder.

8 whim.

*Cynic phi-
losophers
counted dogs.*

ble misfortune, and unlooked-for unto Pompey, Pompey the Great was slain by the motion and counsel of this wicked rhetorician Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwards did himself boast of it. But when Julius Cæsar came afterwards into Egypt, the wicked men that consented to this counsel had their payment according to their deserts: for they died every man of them a wicked death, saving this Theodotus, whom fortune respited a little while longer; and yet in that time he lived a poor and miserable life, never tarrying long in any one place. So Brutus going up and down Asia, Theodotus could hide himself no longer, but was brought unto Brutus, where he suffered pains of death: so that he wan¹ more fame by his death, than ever he did in his life.

25. About that time Brutus sent to pray Cassius to come to the city of Sardis, and so he did. Brutus, understanding of his coming, went to meet him with all his friends. There both their armies being armed, they called them both *Emperors*. Now as it commonly happened in great affairs between two persons, both of them having many friends and so many captains under them, there ran tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a little chamber together, and bade every man avoid², and did shut the doors to them. Then they began to pour out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a-weeping. Their friends that were without³ the chamber, hearing them loud within, and angry between themselves, they were both amazed and afraid also, lest it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commanded that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding, one Marcus Phaonius, that had been a friend and a follower of Cato while he lived, and took upon him to counterfeit a philosopher, not with wisdom and discretion, but with a certain bedlem⁴ and frantic motion: he would needs come into the chamber, though the men offered⁵ to keep him out. But it was no boot⁶ to let⁷ Phaonius, when a mad mood or toy⁸ took him in the head: for he was a hot hasty man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for never a senator of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner of speech after the profession of the Cynic philosophers (as who would say, *Dogs*), yet his boldness did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This Phaonius at that time, in despite of the door-keepers, came into the chamber, and with a certain scoffing

and mocking gesture, which he counterfeited of purpose¹, he rehearsed the verses which old Nestor said in Homer:

“My lords, I pray you hearken both to me,

For I have seen mo² years than suchie³ three.”

Cassius fell a-laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeit Cynic. Howbeit his coming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. The self-same night Cassius prepared his supper in his chamber, and Brutus brought his friends with him. So when they were set at supper, Phaonius came to sit down after he had washed. Brutus told him aloud, ‘no man sent for him,’ and bad them set him at the *upper* end: meaning indeed, at the *lower* end of the bed⁴. Phaonius made no ceremony, but thrust in amongst the middest⁵ of them, and made all the company laugh at him. So they were merry all supper-time, and full of their philosophy. The next day after, Brutus, upon complaint of the Sardians, did condemn and note Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had been a Prætor of the Romans, and whom Brutus had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robbery and pilfery in his office. This judgment much misliked⁶ Cassius, because he himself had secretly (not many days before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leave⁷ to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reprovèd Brutus, for that he would shew himself so straight⁸ and severe, in such a time as was meeter to bear a little than to take things at the worst. Brutus in contrary manner answered, that he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they slew Julius Cæsar, who neither pillèd⁹ nor polled¹⁰ the country, but only was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoil, by his countenance and authority. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly set aside justice and equity, they should have had more reason to have suffered Cæsar’s friends to have robbed and done what wrong and injury they had would¹¹ than to bear with their own men. “For then,” said he, “they could but have said we* had been cowards, but now they may accuse us of injustice, beside the pains we take, and the danger we put ourselves into.” And thus may we see what Brutus’ intent and purpose was.

26. But as they both prepared to pass over again out of Asia into Europe, there went a rumour that there appeared a

¹ on purpose.

² more.
³ such.

⁴ seat.
⁵ midst.

⁶ displeased.

⁷ cease.

⁸ strait,
strict.

Julius Cæsar slain at the Ides of March.
⁹ robbed.
¹⁰ taxed, spoiled.

¹¹ wished (to do).

* Old edd. ‘they’.

The wonderful con-

*stancy of
Brutus in
matters of
justice and
equity.
Brutus' care
and watch-
ing.*

*A spirit
appeared
unto Brutus
in the city
of Sardis.*

¹ Philippi.

² thereupon.

*Cassius'
opinion of
spirits after
the Epicu-
rean sect.*

*The cause
of dreams.*

³ conception.

wonderful sign unto him. Brutus was a careful man, and slept very little, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day-time, and in the night no longer than the time he was driven to be alone, and when everybody else took their rest. But now whilst he was in war, and his head ever busily occupied to think of his affairs and what would happen, after he had slumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his weightiest causes; and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would read some book till the third watch of the night, at what time the captains, petty captains, and colonels, did use to come to him. So, being ready to go into Europe, one night very late (when all the camp took quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never a word. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither? The spirit answered him, "I am thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes¹." Brutus being no otherwise afraid, replied again unto it: "Well, then I shall see thee again." The spirit presently² vanished away: and Brutus called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything at all. Thereupon Brutus returned again to think on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went unto Cassius, to tell him what vision had appeared unto him in the night. Cassius being in opinion an Epicurean, and reasoning thereon with Brutus, spake to him touching the vision thus. "In our sect, Brutus, we have an opinion, that we do not always feel or see that which we suppose we do both see and feel, but that our senses being credulous and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in their own objects) are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that which in truth they do not. For our mind is quick and cunning to work (without either cause or matter) anything in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay, and the mind to the potter: who, without any other cause than his fancy and pleasure, changeth it into what fashion and form he will. And this doth the diversity of our dreams shew unto us. For our imagination doth upon a small fancy grow from concept³ to concept, altering both in passions and forms of

things imagined. For the mind of man is ever occupied, and that continual moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature given to melancholic discoursing, and of late continually occupied, your wits and senses, having been over-laboured, do easilier yield to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angels; and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voices or any power at all to come unto us, it is a mockery. And for mine own part, I would there were such, because that we should not only have soldiers, horses, and ships, but also the aid of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honourable attempts." With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Brutus. When they raised their camp, there came two eagles that, flying with a marvellous force, lighted upon two of the foremost ensigns, and always followed the soldiers, which gave them meat and fed them, until they came near to the city of Philippes: and there, one day only before the battle, they both flew away.

A wonderful sign by two eagles.

27. Now Brutus had conquered the most part of all the people and nations of that country; but if there were any other city or captain to overcome, then they made all clear before them, and so drew towards the coasts of Thassos. There Norbanus, lying in camp in a certain place called the straights¹, by another place called Symbolon (which is a port in the sea), Cassius and Brutus compassed him in in such sort, that he was driven to forsake the place, which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger beside to have lost all his army. For Octavius Cæsar could not follow him because of his sickness, and therefore stayed behind: whereupon they had taken his army, had not Antonius' aid been, which made such wonderful speed, that Brutus could scant² believe it. So Cæsar came not thither of³ ten days after: and Antonius camped against Cassius, and Brutus on the other side, against Cæsar. The Romans called the valley between both camps, the Philippian fields: and there were never seen two so great armies of the Romans, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, Brutus' army was inferior to Octavius Cæsar's in number of men; but for bravery and rich furniture⁴, Brutus' army far excelled Cæsar's. For the most part of their armours were silver and gilt, which Brutus had bountifully given them: although, in all other things, he taught his captains to live in order without excess. But for the bravery of armour and weapon, which soldiers should carry in

¹ straits.

² scarcely.

³ for.

Brutus' and Cassius' camps before the city of Philippi, against Octavius Cæsar and Antonius. Brutus' soldiers bravely armed.

⁴ equipment.

Brutus' opinion for the bravery

*of soldiers
in their
armour and
weapons.*

*Unlucky
signs unto
Cassius.*

¹ pure.

² birds.

*Cassius'
and Brutus'
opinions
about the
battle.*

³ ever.

their hands, or otherwise wear upon their backs, he thought that it was an encouragement unto them that by nature are greedy of honour, and that it maketh them also fight like devils that love to get, and to be afraid to lose: because they fight to keep their armour and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, Octavius Cæsar took the muster of his army within the trenches of his camp, and gave his men only a little corn, and five silver drachmas to every man to sacrifice to the gods, and to pray for victory. But Brutus, scorning this misery and niggardliness, first of all mustered his army, and did purify it in the fields, according to the manner of the Romans: and then he gave unto every band a number of wethers to sacrifice, and fifty silver drachmas to every soldier. So that Brutus' and Cassius' soldiers were better pleased, and more courageously bent to fight at the day of battle, than their enemies' soldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certain unlucky signs unto Cassius. For one of his sergeants that carried the rods before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backward, the which he should have worn on his head in the time of sacrificing. Moreover it is reported also, that another time before, in certain sports and triumph where they carried an image of Cassius' victory, of clean¹ gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that carried it. And yet further, there was seen a marvellous number of fowls² of prey, that feed upon dead carcases: and bee-hives also were found, where bees were gathered together in a certain place within the trenches of the camp: the which place the soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the camp, for to take away the superstitious fear and mistrust men would have of it. The which began somewhat to alter Cassius' mind from Epicurus' opinions, and had put the soldiers also in a marvellous fear. Thereupon Cassius was of opinion not to try this war at one battle, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armour. But Brutus, in contrary manner, did alway before, and at that time also, desire nothing more than to put all to the hazard of battle, as soon as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his country to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still³ troubled in following and maintaining of such great armies together. But perceiving that, in the

daily skirmishes and bickerings they made, his men were always the stronger and ever had the better, that yet quickened his spirits again, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yielded themselves to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreover divers others would do the like, that made many of Cassius' friends which were of his mind before (when it came to be debated in council, whether the battle should be fought or not) that they were then of Brutus' mind. But yet was there one of Brutus' friends called Atellius, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tarry to the next winter. Brutus asked him what he should get by tarrying a year longer? "If I get nothing else," quoth Atellius again, "yet have I lived so much longer." Cassius was very angry with this answer: and Atellius was maliced¹ and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereupon it was presently determined they should fight battle the next day. So Brutus, all supper-time, looked with a cheerful countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of philosophy, and after supper went to bed. But touching Cassius, Messala reporteth that he supped by himself in his tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper-time he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he took him by the hand, and holding him fast (in token of kindness, as his manner was) told him in Greek: "Messala, I protest unto thee, and make thee my witness, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as Pompey the Great was) to jeopard² the liberty of our country to the hazard of a battle. And yet we must be lively, and of good courage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although we follow evil counsel." Messala writeth, that Cassius having spoken these last words unto him, he bade him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it was his birthday. The next morning, by break of day, the signal of battle was set out in Brutus' and Cassius' camp, which was an arming scarlet coat: and both the chieftains spake together in the midst of their armies. There Cassius began to speak first, and said: "The gods grant us, O Brutus, that this day we may win the field, and ever after to live all the rest of our life quietly one with another. But sith³ the gods have so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most uncertain, and that if the battle fall out otherwise to-day than we

Atellius' opinion for the battle.

¹ disliked.

Cassius' words unto Messala the night before the battle.
² risk.

Brutus and Cassius talk before the battle.

³ since.

*Brutus'
answer to
Cassius.*

wish or look for, we shall hardly meet again, what art thou then determined to do, to fly, or die?" Brutus answered him, being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world: "I trust (I know not how) a certain rule of philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove Cato for killing himself, as being no lawful nor godly act, touching the gods: nor concerning men, valiant; not to give place and yield to divine providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to draw back and fly: but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God that this battle fall out fortunate for us, I will look no more for hope, neither seek to make any new supply for war again, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For I gave up my life for my country in the Ides of March, for the which I shall live in another more glorious world." Cassius fell a-laughing^a to hear what he said, and embracing him, "Come on then," said he, "let us go and charge our enemies with this mind. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to fear the conquerors." After this talk, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the battle. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he might have the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was far meeter for Cassius, both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassius gave it him, and willed that Messala (who had charge of one of the warlikest legions they had) should be also in that wing with Brutus. So Brutus presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footmen also were as willing and ready to give charge.

*The battle
at Philippi
against
Octavius
Cæsar and
Antonius.*

¹ marsh.

28. Now Antonius' men did cast a trench from the marrish¹ by the which they lay, to cut off Cassius' way to come to the sea: and Cæsar, at the least his army stirred not. As for Octavius Cæsar himself, he was not in his camp because he was sick. And for his people, they little thought the enemies would have given them battle, but only have made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts and slings to have kept them from finishing of their work: but they, taking no heed to them that came full upon them to give them battle, marvelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trench. In the meantime Brutus, that led the right wing, sent little bills² to

² written
messages.

the colonels and captains of private bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battle ; and he himself, riding a-horseback by all the troupes¹, did speak to them, and encouraged them to stick to it like men. So by this means very few of them understood what was the word of the battle, and besides, the most part of them never tarried to have it told them, but ran with great fury to assail the enemies ; whereby, through this disorder, the legions were marvellously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For first of all Messala's legion, and then the next unto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glancing by them overthrew some as they went ; and so going on further, fell right upon Cæsar's camp, out of the which (as himself writeth in his commentaries) he had been conveyed away a little before, through the counsel and advice of one of his friends called Marcus Artorius : who, dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared unto him, that commanded Octavius Cæsar should be carried out of his camp. Insomuch as it was thought he was slain, because his litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There was great slaughter in this camp. For amongst others, there were slain two thousand Lacedæmonians, who were arrived but even a little before, coming to aid Cæsar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given a charge full upon Cæsar's battle², they easily made them fly, because they were greatly troubled for the loss of their camp ; and of them there were slain by hand three legions. Then, being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand over head³ into their camp, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion⁴ shewed it unto them that they were overcome ; and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked and unguarded of⁵ them of the right wing, who were strayed too far off, in following of them that were overthrown. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But, notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not break into the midst of their battle, where they found them that received them and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and overthrew the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their camp, the which they spoiled, none of both the chieftains being present there. For Antonius, as it is reported, to fly the fury of the first charge, was gotten into the

¹ troops.² company.³ in great haste.
⁴ accident.⁵ by.

¹ nearest.
² marsh.
Octavius
Cæsar
falsely re-
ported to be
slain at the
battle of
Philippi.
Cassius'
misfortune.
³ rendered
 bloody.
⁴ vanguard.
⁵ midst.
⁶ host.

⁷ won.

⁸ glittering.
⁹ armour.
¹⁰ shields.

¹¹ suspect.

Cassius
offended
with the
sundry
errors
Brutus and
his men
committed
in battle.

next¹ marish²: and no man could tell what became of Octavius Cæsar, after he was carried out of his camp. Insomuch that there were certain soldiers that shewed their swords bloodied³, and said that they had slain him, and did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore, the vaward⁴ and the midst⁵ of Brutus' battle⁶ had already put all their enemies to flight that withstood them, with great slaughter: so that Brutus had conquered all on his side, and Cassius had lost all on the other side. For nothing undid them but that Brutus went not to help Cassius, thinking he had overcome them as himself had done; and Cassius on the other side tarried not for Brutus, thinking he had been overthrown as himself was. And to prove that the victory fell on Brutus' side, Messala confirmeth, that they wan⁷ three eagles, and divers other ensigns of the enemies, and their enemies wan never a one of theirs. Now Brutus returning from the chase, after he had slain and sacked Cæsar's men, he wondered much that he could not see Cassius' tent standing up high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his camp standing as they were before, because all the whole camp had been spoiled, and the tents thrown down, at the first coming of their enemies. But they that were about Brutus, whose sight served them better, told them that they saw a great glistering⁸ of harness⁹, and a number of silvered targets¹⁰, that went and came into Cassius' camp, and were not (as they took it) the armours nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the camp; and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies and great overthrow as there should have been, if so many legions had been slain. This made Brutus at the first mistrust¹¹ that which had happened. So he appointed a number of men to keep the camp of his enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to lead them to aid Cassius, who was in this state as you shall hear. First of all, he was marvellous angry to see how Brutus' men ran to give charge upon their enemies, and tarried not for the word of the battle, nor commandment to give charge: and it grieved him beside, that after he had overcome them, his men fell straight to spoil, and were not careful to compass in the rest of the enemies behind: but with tarrying too long also, more than through the valiantness or foresight of the captains his enemies, Cassius found himself compassed in with the right wing of his enemy's army. Whereupon his horsemen brake immediately, and fled for life towards

the sea. Furthermore perceiving his footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keep them from flying, and took an ensign from one of the ensign-bearers that fled, and stuck it fast at his feet: although with much ado he could scant keep his own guard together.

Cassius' valiantness in wars.

29. So Cassius himself was at length compelled to fly, with a few about him, unto a little hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plain: howbeit Cassius himself saw nothing, for his sight was very bad, saving that he saw (and yet with much ado) how the enemies spoiled his camp before his eyes. He saw also a great troupe¹ of horsemen, whom Brutus sent to aid him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he sent Titinnius, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. Brutus' horsemen saw him coming afar off, whom when they knew that he was one of Cassius' chiefest friends, they shouted out for joy; and they that were familiarly acquainted with him lighted from their horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about on horseback, with songs of victory and great rushing² of their harness³, so that they made all the field ring again for joy. But this marred all. For Cassius, thinking indeed that Titinnius was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: "Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken, for my sake, before my face." After that, he got into a tent where nobody was, and took Pindarus with him, one of his bondsmen whom he reserved ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battle of the Parthians, where Crassus was slain, though he notwithstanding scaped from that overthrow: but then, casting his cloak over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body: but after that time Pindarus was never seen more. Whereupon some took occasion to say that he had slain his master without his commandment. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see Titinnius crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed unto Cassius. But when he perceived, by the cries and tears of his friends which tormented themselves, the misfortune that had chanced to his captain Cassius by mistaking, he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had tarried so long, and so slew himself presently⁴ in the field. Brutus in the mean time came forward still, and understood also that Cassius

¹ troop.

² clashing.

³ armour.

The importance of error and mistaking in wars.

Cassius slain by his man Pindarus.

⁴ at once
The death of Titinnius.

had been overthrown : but he knew nothing of his death till he came very near to his camp. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romans, being impossible¹ that Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he, he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thassos, fearing lest his funerals² within his camp should cause great disorder. Then he called his soldiers together, and did encourage them again. And when he saw that they had lost all their carriage³, which they could not brook⁴ well, he promised every man of them two thousand drachmas in recompense. After his soldiers had heard his oration, they were all of them prettily cheered again, wondering much at his great liberality, and waited upon him with great cries when he went his way, praising him, for that he only of the four chieftains was not overcome in battle. And to speak the truth, his deeds shewed that he hoped not in vain to be conqueror. For with few legions he had slain and driven all them away that made head against him : and if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgone their enemies to run to spoil their goods, surely it was like enough he had slain them all, and had left never a man of them alive. There were slain of Brutus' side about eight thousand men, counting the soldiers' slaves, whom Brutus called *Brigas* : and of the enemy's side, as Messala writeth, there were slain, as he supposeth, more than twice as many more⁵. Wherefore they were more discouraged than Brutus, until that, very late at night, there was one of Cassius' men called Demetrius, who went unto Antonius, and carried his master's clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encouraged Brutus' enemies, and made them so brave, that the next morning betimes they stood in battle ray⁶ again before Brutus.

¹ impossible.² burial.³ baggage.⁴ endure.

*The number
of men slain
at the battle
of Philippi.*

⁵ more.⁶ array.

30. But on Brutus' side, both his camps stood wavering, and that in great danger. For his own camp, being full of prisoners, required a good guard to look unto them : and Cassius' camp on the other side took the death of their captain very heavily ; and beside, there was some vile grudge between them that were overcome and those that did overcome. For this cause therefore Brutus did set them in battle ray⁶, but yet kept himself from giving battle. Now for the slaves that were prisoners, which were a great number, and went and came to and fro amongst these armed men, not without suspicion, he commanded they should kill them. But

for the free men, he sent them freely home, and said that they were better prisoners with his enemies than with him. For with them, they were slaves and servants: and with him, they were free men and citizens. So when he saw that divers captains and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no means save their lives, Brutus himself hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius, a jester, and Sacculio, a common player, of whom Brutus made no account at all. Howbeit his friends brought them unto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let¹ to laugh them to scorn, and to jest broadly with them. Brutus made no answer to it, because his head was occupied otherwise. Whereupon Messala Corvinus said that it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped, unto the captains of their enemies, to shew them their shame, to keep such mates² as those in their camp; to play the fools to make them sport. Some that stood by laughed at his device. But Publius Casca, that gave Julius Cæsar the first wound when he was slain, said then: "It doth not become us to be thus merry at Cassius' funerals³: and for thee, Brutus, thou shalt shew what estimation thou madest of such a captain thy compeer, by putting to death, or saving the lives of these bloods⁴, who hereafter will mock him and defame his memory." Brutus answered again in choler: "Why then do you come to tell me of it, Casca, and do not yourselves what you think good?" When they heard him say so, they took his answer for a consent against these poor unfortunate men, to suffer them to do what they thought good: and therefore they carried them away, and slew them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promise he had made to the soldiers, and gave them the two thousand drachmas apiece; but yet he first reproved them, because they went and gave charge upon the enemies at the first battle, before they had the word of battle given them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battle they fought like men, he would give them the sack and spoil of two cities, to wit⁵, Thessalonica and Lacedæmon. In all Brutus' life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gainsaid: though Antonius and Octavius Cæsar did reward their soldiers far worse for their victory. For when they had driven all the natural Italians out of Italy, they gave their soldiers their lands and towns, to the which they had no right: and moreover the only mark they shot at in all this war

Brutus' clemency and courtesy.

¹ hesitate.

² comrades.

³ burial.

⁴ fellows.

⁵ namely.

Brutus' fault wisely excused by Plutarch.

¹ accused.² stead.³ urgent.⁴ uncertain.⁵ self-willed.⁶ expected.⁷ marsh.⁸ whereby.⁹ immediately.*Brutus' victory by sea.**Wonderful famine among Cæsar's soldiers by sea.**The ignorance of Brutus' victory by sea was his utter destruction.*

they made, was but to overcome and reign : where in contrary manner they had so great an opinion of Brutus' virtue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not suffer him neither to overcome nor to save himself otherwise than justly and honestly, and specially after Cassius' death ; whom men burdened¹, that oftentimes he moved Brutus to great cruelty. But now, like as the mariners on the sea, after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest, do seek to nail on some other piece of wood in lieu² thereof, and do help themselves to keep them from hurt, as much as may be, upon that instant³ danger : even so Brutus, having such a great army to govern, and his affairs standing very tickle⁴, and having no other captain coequal with him in dignity and authority, he was forced to employ them he had ; and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, and was of mind himself also to grant them any thing that he thought might make them serve like noble soldiers at time of need. For Cassius' soldiers were very evil to be ruled, and did shew themselves very stubborn and lusty⁵ in the camp, because they had no chieftain that did command them : but yet rank cowards to their enemies, because they had once overcome them. On the other side, Octavius Cæsar and Antonius were not in much better state ; for first of all they lacked victuals. And because they were lodged in low places, they looked⁶ to abide a hard and sharp winter, being camped as they were by the marsh⁷ side : and also for that, after the battle, there had fallen plenty of rain about the autumn, wherethrough⁸ all their tents were full of mire and dirt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently⁹. But beside all these discommodities, there came news unto them of the great loss they had of their men by sea. For Brutus' ships met with a great aid and supply of men, which were sent them out of Italy, and they overthrew them in such sort, that there scaped but few of them : and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eat the tackle and sails of their ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to fight a battle again, before Brutus should have intelligence of this good news for him : for it chanced so, that the battle was fought by sea, on the selfsame day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather than through the malice or negligence of the captains, this victory came not to Brutus' ear till twenty days after. For had he known of it before, he would not have been brought to have fought a second battle, considering that he had excellent good provision for his army for a long time ; and besides lay in a

place of great strength, so as his camp could not greatly be hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had been a quiet lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would have marvellously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that pass, that it could no more abide to be governed by many lords, but required one only absolute governor: God, to prevent Brutus that it should not come to his government, kept this victory from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a little too late. For the day before the last battle was given, very late in the night, came Clodius, one of his enemies, into his camp, who told that Cæsar, hearing of the overthrow of his army by sea, desired nothing more than to fight a battle before Brutus understood it. Howbeit they gave no credit to his words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him unto Brutus, because they thought it but a lie devised, to be the better welcome for this good news. The selfsame night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before unto Brutus in the city of Sardis, did now appear again unto him in the selfsame shape and form, and so vanished away, and said never a word. Now Publius Volumnius, a grave and wise philosopher, that had been with Brutus from the beginning of this war, doth make no mention of this spirit; but saith that the greatest eagle and ensign was covered over with a swarm of bees; and that there was one of the captains, whose arm suddenly fell a sweating, that it dropped oil of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about¹ to dry him, but all would do no good. And that, before the battle was fought, there were two eagles fought between both armies, and all the time they fought there was a marvellous great silence all the valley over, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight between them; and that in the end, the eagle towards Brutus gave over and fled away. But this is certain, and a true tale, that when the gate of the camp was open, the first man the standard-bearer met that carried the eagle, was an Æthiopian, whom the soldiers, for ill luck, mangled with their swords.

31. Now after that Brutus had brought his army into the field, and had set them in battle ray², directly against the vaward³ of his enemy, he paused a long time before he gave the signal of battle. For Brutus riding up and down to view the bands and companies, it came in his head to mistrust some of them, besides that some came to tell him so much as he

The evil spirit appeared again unto Brutus.

Strange sight, before Brutus' second battle.

¹ endeavour-
ed.

Brutus' second battle.
² array.
³ vanguard.

thought. Moreover, he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to give charge, but still stayed to see what the footmen would do. Then suddenly, one of the chiefest knights he had in all his army, called Camulatus, and that was alway marvellously esteemed of for his valiantness, until that time: he came hard by Brutus on horseback, and rode before his face to yield himself unto his enemies. Brutus was marvellous sorry for it: wherefore, partly for anger, and partly for fear of greater treason and rebellion, he suddenly caused his army to march, being past three of the clock in the afternoon. So in that place where he himself fought in person, he had the better, and brake into the left wing of his enemies; which gave him way, through the help of his horsemen that gave charge with his footmen, when they saw the enemies in a maze¹ and afraid. Howbeit, the other also on the right wing, when the captains would have had them to have marched, they were afraid to have been compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number than their enemies, and therefore did spread themselves, and leave the midst² of the battle. Whereby they having weakened themselves, they could not withstand the force of their enemies, but turned tail straight and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight upon it to compass Brutus behind, who, in the midst² of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilful captain and valiant soldier, both for his wisdom, as also his hardiness, for the obtaining of victory. But that which wan³ him the victory at the first battle, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time, the enemies that were broken and fled were straight cut in pieces: but at the second battle, of Cassius' men that were put to flight, there were few slain: and they that saved themselves by speed, being afraid because they had been overcome, did discourage the rest of the army when they came to join with them, and filled all the army with fear and disorder. There was the son of Marcus Cato slain, valiantly fighting among the lusty youths. For notwithstanding that he was very weary and over-harried⁴, yet would he not therefore fly; but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his father's name, at length he was beaten down amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slain round about him. So there were slain in the field all the chiefest gentlemen and nobility that were in his army, who valiantly ran into any danger to save Brutus' life: amongst whom there was one of Brutus' friends

¹ perplexity.

² midst.

Brutus' valiantness and great skill in war.

³ won.

The death of the valiant young man Cato, the son of Marcus Cato.

⁴ much harassed.

called Lucilius, who seeing a troupe¹ of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going all together right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life; and being left behind, told them that he was Brutus: and because they should believe him, he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he said he was afraid of Cæsar, and that he did trust Antonius better. These barbarous men, being very glad of this good hap, and thinking themselves happy men, they carried him in the night, and sent some before unto Antonius, to tell him of their coming. He was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meet them that brought him. Others also understanding of it, that they had brought Brutus prisoner, they came out of all parts of the camp to see him, some pitying his hazard fortune, and others saying that it was not done like himself, so cowardly to be taken alive of the barbarous people for fear of death. When they came near together, Antonius stayed a while bethinking himself how he should use Brutus. In the meantime Lucilius was brought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said: "Antonius, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken nor shall take Marcus Brutus alive, and I beseech God keep him from that fortune: for wheresoever he be found, alive or dead, he will be found like himself. And now for myself, I am come unto thee, having deceived these men of arms here, bearing them down² that I was Brutus, and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to." Lucilius' words made them all amazed that heard him. Antonius on the other side, looking upon all them that had brought him, said unto them: "My companions, I think ye are sorry you have failed of your purpose, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong: but I assure you, you have taken a better booty than that you followed. For instead of an enemy you have brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For I had rather have such men my friends, as this man here, than mine enemies." Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that time delivered him to one of his friends in custody; and Lucilius ever after served him faithfully, even to his death. Now Brutus having passed a little river, walled in on every side with high rocks and shadowed with great trees, being then dark night, he went no further, but stayed at the foot of a rock with certain of his captains and friends that followed him: and looking up to the firmament that was full of

*The fidelity
of Lucilius
unto Brutus.*
¹ troop.

² making
them be-
lieve.

*Brutus
flying.*

stars, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect :

“Let not the wight from whom this mischief went,

O Jove, escape without due punishment :”—

and saith that he had forgotten the other. Within a little while after, naming his friends that he had seen slain in battle before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh than before, specially when he came to name Labio and Flavius, of whom the one was his lieutenant, and the other captain of the pioners¹ of his camp. In the meantime one of the company being athirst, and seeing Brutus athirst also, he ran to the river for water, and brought it in his sallet². At the same time they heard a noise on the other side of the river : whereupon Volumnius took Dardanus, Brutus’ servant, with him, to see what it was : and returning straight again, asked if there were any water left. Brutus smiling, gently told him, “All is *drunk, but they shall bring you some more.” Thereupon he sent him again that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly escaped, being sore hurt.

32. Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slain in battle : and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go through his enemies, for otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp : and from thence, if all were well, that he would lift up a torch-light in the air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift³ up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarry long after that, and that he came not again, he said : “If Statilius be alive, he will come again.” But his evil fortune was such that, as he came back, he lighted in his enemies’ hands and was slain. Now the night being far spent, Brutus as he sat bowed towards Clitus, one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear : the other answered him not, but fell a-weeping. Thereupon he proved⁴ Dardanus, and said somewhat also to him : at length he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greek, prayed him for the studies’ sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would help him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others : and amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarrying for them there, but that they must needs fly. Then Brutus, rising up, “We must fly indeed,” said he, “but it must be with our

*Appian
meaneth
this by
Antonius.*

¹ pioneers.

² helmet.

* so ed. 1631 :
told them all
was (1612).

³ lifted.

*The death of
Statilius.*

⁴ tried.

*Brutus’
saying of
flying with*

hands, not with our feet." Then taking every man by the hand, he said these words unto them with a cheerful countenance: "It rejoiceth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complain of my fortune, but only for my country's sake: for as for me, I think myself happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave* a perpetual fame of virtue and honesty,† the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attain unto by force or money; neither can let¹ their posterity to say that they, being naughty² and unjust men, have slain good men, to usurp tyrannical power not pertaining to them." Having so said,‡ he prayed every man to shift for himself,|| and then he went a little aside with two or three only, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of rhetoric. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ran himself through. Others say that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it, and so ran himself through, and died presently³. Messala, that had been Brutus' great friend, became afterwards Octavius Cæsar's friend: so, shortly after, Cæsar being at good leisure, he brought Strato, Brutus' friend, unto him, and weeping said: "Cæsar, behold, here is he that did the last service to my Brutus." Cæsar welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithful service in all his affairs as any Grecian else he had about him, until the battle of Actium. It is reported also that this Messala himself answered Cæsar one day, when he gave him great praise before his face, that he had fought valiantly and with great affection for him at the battle of Actium (notwithstanding that he had been his cruel enemy before, at the battle of Philippes⁴, for Brutus' sake): "I ever loved," said he, "to take the best and justest part." Now Antonius having found Brutus' body, he caused it to be wrapped up in one of the richest coat-armours⁵ he had. Afterwards also, Antonius understanding that this coat-armour was stolen, he put the thief* to death that had stolen it, and sent the ashes of his body unto Servilia his mother. And for Porcia, Brutus' wife, Nicolaus the Philosopher and Valerius Maximus do write, that she, determining to kill herself (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it), took hot burning coals and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close that she choked herself. There was a letter of Brutus found

hands, and not with feet.

* have (1612).
† of our courage and manhood (1612).
¹ hinder.
² wicked.
‡ said so (1612).
|| themselves. (1612).

Brutus slew himself.

Strato, Brutus' familiar and friend.
³ forthwith.

Strato received into Cæsar's friendship.

Messala Corvinus, Brutus' friend.

⁴ Philippi.

⁵ ornamented coat.

* chiefe (1612).
Porcia, Brutus' wife, kill'd herself with burning coals.

¹ heal.² since.

written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that, his wife being sick, they would not help ¹ her, but suffered her to kill herself; choosing to die, rather than to languish in pain. Thus it appeareth that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith ² the letter (at the least if it were Brutus' letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this lady, and also the manner of her death.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS.

1. *Parentage of ANTONIUS.* 2. *His early acts.* 3. *He sides with JULIUS CÆSAR.* 4. *His valorous deeds, and good service at the battle of PHARSALIA.* 5. *His dissolute manner of life.* 6. *How he was the unwitting cause of the conspiracy against CÆSAR.* 7. *Murder of CÆSAR.* 8. *Arrival of OCTAVIUS at Rome.* 9. *Patient bearing of ANTONIUS under adversity.* 10. *The first Triumvirate.* 11. *Death of BRUTUS and CASSIUS.* 12. *Evil influence of Grecian manners.* 13. *ANTONIUS falls in love with CLEOPATRA; description of her magnificence.* 14. *Extravagance of ANTONIUS.* 15. *Sportiveness of CLEOPATRA.* 16. *Death of FULVIA, and marriage of ANTONIUS with OCTAVIA.* 17. *Some account of SEXTUS POMPEIUS.* 18. *Inferiority of ANTONIUS to OCTAVIUS CÆSAR.* 19. *War against the PARTHIANS, and triumph of VENTIDIUS.* 20. *Quarrel between ANTONIUS and OCTAVIUS.* 21. *ANTONIUS indulges his love for CLEOPATRA, to his own great loss.* 22. *He besieges PHRAATA, and encounters the PARTHIANS.* 23. *The PARTHIANS harass his retreat.* 24. *Great sufferings of the ROMANS during their retreat.* 25. *Advice of MITHRIDATES the PARTHIAN.* 26. *The ROMANS still retreat, and cross the ARAXES.* 27. *ANTONIUS returns to CLEOPATRA.* 28. *Wars between the PARTHIANS and MEDES.* 29. *OCTAVIA comes to ATHENS. Willy conduct of CLEOPATRA.* 30. *ANTONIUS bestows kingdoms on his sons.* 31. *OCTAVIUS excites the ROMANS against him.* 32. *ANTONIUS and CLEOPATRA arrive at SAMOS. He divorces his wife OCTAVIA.* 33. *The preparations of OCTAVIUS for war.* 34. *Signs and omens.* 35. *The battle of ACTIUM.* 36. *Flight of CLEOPATRA.* 37. *Events after the battle.* 38. *ANTONIUS follows the example of TIMON of ATHENS.* 39. *CLEOPATRA makes experiments with poisons.* 40. *Negotiations with OCTAVIUS.* 41. *Death of ANTONIUS.* 42. *OCTAVIUS captures CLEOPATRA, and takes ALEXANDRIA.* 43. *ANTONIUS is buried by CLEOPATRA.* 44. *Interview between CLEOPATRA and OCTAVIUS.* 45. *Death of CLEOPATRA.* 46. *The children of ANTONIUS.*

ARGUMENT.

I. ANTONIUS' grandfather was that famous orator whom Marius slew because he took Sylla's part. His father was another Antonius surnamed Cretan*, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the commonwealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and

*Antonius' parentage.
* Because that by his death he ended the war which*

he unfortunately made against those of Creta. The liberality of Antonius' father.

¹ errand.

Julia the mother of M. Antonius.

* I. e. Cicero.

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

² lured.

³ namely.

specially very liberal in giving, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his wife would not let him use his liberality and frank nature. One day a friend of his coming to him to pray him to help him to some money, having great need, Antonius by chance had no money to give him, but he commanded one of his men to bring him some water in a silver basin; and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an errand¹ for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the silver basin, and bade him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great stir in the house among the servants, seeking out of this silver basin. Insomuch as Antonius, seeing his wife marvellously offended for it, and that she would examine all her servants one after another about it, to know what was become of it, at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was Julia, of the noble house and family of Julius Cæsar: who, for her virtue and chastity, was to be compared with the noblest lady of her time. Marcus Antonius was brought up under her, being married after her first husband's death unto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus and others, for that he was of Catiline's conspiracy against the Commonwealth. And this seemeth to be the original cause and beginning of the cruel and mortal hate Antonius bare unto Cicero. For Antonius self saith, that he* would never give him the body of his father-in-law to bury him, before his mother went first to entreat Cicero's wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied burial to none of them whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a fair young man, and in the prime of his youth, he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given over to all lust and insolency, who, to have Antonius the better at his commandment, trained² him on into great follies and vain expenses upon women, in rioting and banqueting: so that in short time he brought Antonius into a marvellous great debt, and too great for one of his years, to wit³, of two hundred and fifty talents, for all which sum Curio was his surety. His father hearing of it, did put his son from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperatest and most wicked tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stir and mischief in Rome: but at length he forsook him, being

weary of his rashness and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against Clodius.

2. Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Greece, and there bestowed¹ the most part of his time, sometime in wars, and otherwhile in the study of eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his speech called Asiatic, which carried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish bravery², and vain ambition. After he had remained there some time, Gabinus, proconsul, going into Syria, persuaded him to go with him; Antonius told him he would not go as a private man: wherefore Gabinus gave him charge of his horsemen, and so took him with him. So, first of all he sent him against Aristobulus, who had made the Jews to rebel, and was the first man himself that got up to the wall of a castle of his, and so drave Aristobulus out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he overcame all the Jews in set battle, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword; and furthermore, took Aristobulus himself prisoner with his son. Afterwards Ptolemy, king of Egypt, that had been driven out of his country, went unto Gabinus to intreat him to go with his army with him into Egypt, to put him again into his kingdom: and promised him, if he would go with him, ten thousand talents. The most part of the captains thought it not best to go thither, and Gabinus himself made it dainty to enter³ into this war, although the covetousness of these 10,000 talents stuck sorely with him. But Antonius, that sought but for opportunity and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratify Ptolemy's request, he went about to persuade Gabinus to go this voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go, to come to the city of Pelusium, than they feared any danger of the war besides: because they were to pass through deep sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marishes⁴ through, which are called the marishes⁴ Serbonides, which the Egyptians call the exhalations or fume, by the which the giant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the Red Sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place where it is divided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius was sent before into Egypt with his horsemen, who did not only win that passage, but also took the city of Pelusium (which is a great city) with all the soldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the

¹ employed.

Antonius used in his pleading the Asiatic phrase.

² bragging.

Antonius had charge of horsemen under Gabinus, proconsul, going into Syria. Antonius acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius took Aristobulus prisoner.

³ shrank from entering.

⁴ marshes.

Antonius acts in Egypt under Gabinus.

Antonius' courtesy unto Archelaus being dead.

¹ won.

Antonius' shape and presence.

The house of the Antonii descended from Hercules.

² robe.

³ above.

Antonius' liberality.

rest of the army, and the hope of the victory also certain for his captain. Now did the enemies themselves feel the fruits of Antonius' courtesy, and the desire he had to win honour: for when Ptolemy (after he had entered into the city of Pelusium), for the malice he bare unto the city, would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword, Antonius withstood him, and by no means would suffer him to do it. And in all other great battles and skirmishes which they fought, being many in number, Antonius did many noble acts of a valiant and wise captain: but specially in one battle, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victory that fought in front, whereby he afterwards had such honourable reward as his valiantness deserved. So was his great courtesy also much commended of all, the which he shewed unto Archelaus: for having been his very friend, he made war with him against his will while he lived; but after his death he fought for his body, and gave it honourable burial. For these respects he wan¹ himself great fame of them of Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the soldiers in the Romans' camp. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thick beard, a broad forehead, crooked-nosed, and there appeared such a manly look in his countenance, as is commonly seen in Hercules' pictures, stamped or graven in metal. Now it had been a speech of old time, that the family of the Antonii were descended from one Anton the son of Hercules, whereof the family took name. This opinion did Antonius seek to confirm in all his doings: not only resembling him in the likeness of his body, as we have said before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shew himself abroad before many people, he would always wear his cassock² girt down low upon his hips, with a great sword hanging by his side, and upon³ that, some ill-favoured cloak. Furthermore, things that seem intolerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jest with one or other, to drink like a good fellow with everybody, to sit with the soldiers when they dine, and to eat and drink with them soldier-like, it is incredible what wonderful love it wan¹ him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love, that made him the more desired, and by that means he brought many to love him. For he would further every man's love, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advancement, was his liberality,

who gave all to the soldiers, and kept nothing for himself : and when he was grown to great credit, then was his authority and power also very great, the which notwithstanding himself did overthrow by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example only of his wonderful liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer¹ that kept his money, to give a friend of his five and twenty myriads; which the Romans call in their tongue *decies*. His cofferer marvelling at it, and being angry withal in his mind, brought him all this money in a heap together, to shew him what a marvellous mass of money it was. Antonius seeing it as he went by, asked what it was : the cofferer answered him, "It was the money he willed him to give unto his friend." Then Antonius, perceiving the spite of his man, "I thought," said he, "that *decies* had been a greater sum of money than it is, for this is but a trifle : " and therefore he gave his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards.

¹ treasurer.

3. Now the Romans maintaining two factions at Rome at that time, one against the other, of the which they that took part with the Senate did join with Pompey, being then in Rome : and the contrary side, taking part with the people, sent for Cæsar to aid them, who made wars in Gaul : then Curio, Antonius' friend, that had changed his garments, and at that time took part with Cæsar, whose enemy he had been before, he wan Antonius ; and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and sway he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue, and partly also by his exceeding expense of money he made which Cæsar gave him, that Antonius was chosen tribune, and afterwards made augur. But this was a great help and furtherance to Cæsar's practices². For so soon as Antonius became tribune, he did oppose himself against those things which the Consul Marcellus preferred (who ordained that certain legions which had been already levied and billed³, should be given unto Cneus Pompey, with further commission and authority to levy others unto them), and set down an order, that the soldiers which were already levied and assembled should be sent into Syria, for a new supply unto Marcus Bibulus, who made war at that time against the Parthians. And further gave a prohibition that Pompey should levy no more men, and also that the soldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompey's friends and followers would not suffer Cæsar's letters to be received and openly read in the senate, Antonius, having power and warrant by his person, through the holiness of his tribune-

*Antonius
tribune of
the people,
and augur.
² plots.*

³ enrolled.

*Antonius
acts for
Cæsar.*

¹ as it were.

*Antonius
fleeth from
Rome unto
Cæsar.*

² confusedly.

³ upheld.

⁴ at once.

*Cicero re-
proved, or
lying.*

⁵ strong,
great.

⁶ pretext.

⁷ same.

*Alexander,
Cyrus, and
Cæsar, all
contended
to reign.*

*Cæsar's
ambition the
only cause of
the civil
war.*

ship, did read them openly, and made divers men change their minds: for it appeared to them that Cæsar by his letters required no unreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideration unto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey or Cæsar should leave their army, there were few of the senators that thought it meet Pompey should leave his army, but they all in manner¹ commanded Cæsar to do it. Then Antonius rising up, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cæsar both should leave their armies. Thereupon all the senators jointly together gave their whole consent, and with a great cry commending Antonius, they prayed him to refer it to the judgment of the senate. But the Consuls would not allow of that. Therefore Cæsar's friends preferred other reasonable demands and requests again, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls, drave Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grievous curses against him. After that, he took a slave's gown, and speedily fled to Cæsar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hired coach. When they came to Cæsar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand over head² at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not speak their minds; and were driven away in great danger of their lives, as many as stood with³ law and justice. Hereupon Cæsar went incontinently⁴ into Italy with his army, which made Cicero say in his Philippides: "That, as Helen was cause of the war of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the civil wars;" which indeed was a stark⁵ lie. For Cæsar was not so fickle-headed, nor so easily carried away with anger, that he would so suddenly have gone and made war with his country, upon the sight only of Antonius and Cassius, being fled to him in miserable apparel, and in a hired coach, had he not long before determined it with himself. But sith indeed Cæsar looked of long time but for some colour⁶, this came as he wished, and gave him just occasion of war. But to say truly, nothing else moved him to make war with all the world as he did, but one self⁷ cause which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him, to wit, an insatiable desire to reign, with a senseless covetousness to be the best man in the world; the which he could not come unto, before he had first put down Pompey and utterly overthrown him. Now after that Cæsar had gotten Rome at his commandment, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, he purposed first to go into Spain against the legions Pompey had there, and in the mean-

time to make provision for ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus, that was Prætor, governor of Rome; and Antonius, that was tribune, he gave him charge of all the soldiers and of Italy. Then was Antonius straight marvellously commended and beloved of the soldiers, because he commonly exercised himself among them, and would oftentimes eat and drink with them, and also be liberal unto them, according to his ability. But then in contrary manner, he purchased divers other men's evil wills, because that through negligence he would not do them justice that were injured, and dealt very churlishly with them that had any suit unto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to intice¹ men's wives. To conclude, Cæsar's friends, that governed under him, were cause why they hated Cæsar's government (which indeed in respect of himself was no less than tyranny) by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Cæsar, notwithstanding, when he returned from the wars of Spain, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valiant captain, he employed him in his chiefest affairs, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him.

4. So he passed over the Ionian sea unto Brundisium. being but slenderly accompanied, and sent unto Antonius and Gabinius, that they should imbarke² their men as soon as they could, and pass them over into Macedon. Gabinius was afraid to take the sea, because it was very rough, and in the winter time: and therefore fetched a great compass³ about by land. But Antonius, fearing some danger might come unto Cæsar, because he was compassed in with a great number of enemies, first of all he drave away Libo, who rode at anchor with a great army before the haven of Brundisium. For he manned out such a number of pinnaces, barks, and other small boats about every one of his galleys, that he drave him thence. After that, he imbarked⁴ into ships 20,000 footmen, and 800 horsemen, and with this army he hoised⁵ sail. When the enemies saw him, they made out to follow him: but the sea rose so high, that the billows put back their galleys that they could not come near him, and so he scaped that danger. But withal he fell upon the rocks with his whole fleet, where the sea wrought very high, so that he was out of all hope to save himself. Yet, by good fortune,

*Cæsar gave
the charge of
Italy unto
Antonius.*

*Antonius'
vices.*

¹ entice.

² imbarke.

³ circuit.

*Antonius
taketh sea
with his
army at
Brundisium,
and
goeth unto
Cæsar.*

⁴ imbarked.
⁵ hoisted.

suddenly the wind turned south-west, and blew from the gulf, driving the waves of the river into the main sea. Thus Antonius, loosing from the land, and sailing with safety at his pleasure, soon after he saw all the coasts full of shipwracks¹. For the force and boisterousness of the wind did cast away the galleys that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted², and divers also cast away; and Antonius took a great number of them prisoners, with a great sum of money also. Besides all these, he took the city of Lyssus, and brought Cæsar a great supply of men, and made him courageous, coming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Now there were divers hot skirmishes and encounters, in the which Antonius fought so valiantly, that he carried the praise from them all: but specially at two several times, when Cæsar's men turned their backs, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to return again to fight: so that the victory fell on Cæsar's side. For this cause he had the second place in the camp among the soldiers, and they spake of no other man unto Cæsar, but of him: who shewed plainly what opinion he had of him, when at the last battle of Pharsalia (which indeed was the last trial of all, to give the conqueror the whole empire of the world) he himself did lead the right wing of his army, and gave Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest soldier of all those he had about him. After Cæsar had won the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey step by step: howbeit, before, he named Antonius general of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The general of the horsemen is the second office of dignity, when the Dictator is in the city: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the only man that remaineth, and all the other officers and magistrates are put down, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella, being at that time tribune, and a young man desirous of change and innovation, he preferred³ a law which the Romans call *Novas tabulas* (as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and specialities; and were called *New tables*, because they were driven then to make books of daily receipt and expense), and persuaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped⁴ for a good occasion to please and gratify the common people) to aid him to pass this law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted⁵ Dolabella for⁶ keeping of his wife, and took such a conceit of it, that he thrust

¹ shipwracks.² split.

Antonius' manhood in war.

Antonius led the left wing of Cæsar's battle at Pharsalia, where Pompey lost the field. The dignity of the general of the horsemen.

³ proposed.⁴ watched.

⁵ suspected.
⁶ of.

his wife out of his house, being his cousin-german, and the daughter of C. Antonius, who was Consul with Cicero; and joining with Asinius, he resisted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolabella had gotten the market-place, where the people do assemble in council, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this law of the New Tables to pass by force. Antonius, by commandment of the senate, who had given him authority to levy men and to use force against Dolabella, went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slain on both sides.

*Dissension
betwixt
Antonius
and Dola-
bella.*

5. But by this means he got the ill will of the common people; and on the other side, the noblemen (as Cicero saith) did not only mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty¹ life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at unseasonable times, and his extreme wasteful expenses upon vain light huswives²; and then in the day-time he would sleep or walk out his drunkenness, thinking to wear away the fume of the abundance of wine which he had taken over night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and mask: and himself passed away the time in hearing of foolish plays, and in marrying these players, tumblers, jesters, and such sort of people. As for proof hereof it is reported, that at Hippias' marriage, one of his jesters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next morning, when he came to plead before the people assembled in council, who had sent for him, he being queasy-stomached³ with his surfeit he had taken, was compelled to lay up⁴ all before them, and one of his friends held him his gown instead of a basin. He had another pleasant player called Sergius, that was one of the chiefest men about him, and a woman also called Cytheride, of the same profession, whom he loved dearly: he carried her up and down in a litter unto all the towns he went, and had as many men waiting upon her litter (she being but a player) as were attending upon his own mother. It grieved honest men also very much to see that, when he went into the country, he carried with him a great number of cupboards full of silver and gold plate openly in the face of the world, as⁵ it had been the pomp or shew of some triumph: and that oftsoons⁶ in the midst⁷ of his journey he would set up his hals⁸ and tents hard by some green grove or pleasant river, and there his cooks should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, lions were harnessed in trases⁹ to draw his carts: and besides also, in honest men's houses, in the cities where he came, he would have common harlots, courtesans, and these tumbling gillots¹⁰ lodged. Now it

¹ wicked.

² hussies.

*Antonius'
abominable
life.*

*Antonius
laid up his
stomach
before the
whole as-
sembly.
³ sick.
⁴ vomit.
Antonius'
insolency.*

⁵ as if.

⁶ soon after.

⁷ midst.

⁸ pavilions.

⁹ traces.

¹⁰ dancing
women.

*Cæsar and
Lepidus,
consuls.
Antonius
buyeth Pom-
pey's house.
1 took
offence.*

*Antonius
married
Fulvia, Clo-
dius' widow.
2 as to.
Fulvia
ruled An-
tonius at
home and
abroad.*

³ temper.

⁴ to prevent.

⁵ jumped.

grieved men much to see that Cæsar should be out of Italy following of his enemies, to end this great war with such great peril and danger, and that others in the mean time, abusing his name and authority, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts upon their citizens. This methinks was the cause that made the conspiracy against Cæsar increase more and more, and laid the reins of the bridle upon the soldiers' necks, whereby they durst more boldly commit many extortions, cruelties, and robberies. And therefore Cæsar after his return pardoned Dolabella, and being created Consul the third time, he took not Antonius, but chose Lepidus his colleague and fellow-consul. Afterwards when Pompey's house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very strange¹, and was offended with them; and writeth himself that he would not go with Cæsar into the wars of Africa, because he was not well recompensed for the service he had done him before. Yet Cæsar did somewhat bridle his madness and insolency, not suffering him to pass his faults so lightly away, making as though he saw them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married Fulvia that was Clodius' widow, a woman not so basely minded to² spend her time in spinning and housewifery; and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commanded him that commanded legions and great armies: so that Cleopatra was to give Fulvia thanks for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commandment. Now, because Fulvia was somewhat sour and crooked of condition³, Antonius devised to make her pleasanter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would play her many pretty youthful parts to make her merry. As he did once, when Cæsar returned the last time of all conqueror out of Spain, every man went out to meet him, and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the sudden there ran a rumour through Italy, that Cæsar was dead, and that his enemies came again with a great army. Thereupon he returned with speed to Rome, and took one of his men's gowns, and so apparelled came home to his house in a dark night, saying, that he had brought Fulvia letters from Antonius. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for⁴ being known: but she, taking the matter heavily, asked him if Antonius were well. Antonius gave her the letters, and said never a word. So when she had opened the letters, and began to read them, Antonius ramped⁵ on her neck, and

kissed her. We have told you this tale for example's sake only, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these.

6. Now when Cæsar was returned from his last war in Spain, all the chiefest nobility of the city rode many days journey from Rome to meet him, where Cæsar made marvellous much of Antonius above all the men that came unto him. For he always took him into his coach with him throughout all Italy, and behind him Brutus Albinus and Octavius the son of his niece, who afterwards was called Cæsar, and became Emperor of Rome long time after. So Cæsar being afterwards chosen Consul the fift¹ time, he immediately chose Antonius his colleague and companion; and desired, by deposing himself of his consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his room, and had already moved it to the senate. But Antonius did stoutly withstand it, and openly reviled Dolabella in the Senate, and Dolabella also spared him as little. Thereupon Cæsar being ashamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also, when Cæsar attempted again to substitute Dolabella Consul in his place, Antonius cried out, that the signs of the birds were against it: so that at length Cæsar was compelled to give him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvellously offended with him. Now in truth Cæsar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Cæsar answered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for some matter of conspiracy: "Tush," said he, "they be not those fat fellows and fine combed men that I fear, but I mistrust rather these pale and lean men," meaning by² Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards conspired his death and slew him. Antonius, un-
 awares, afterwards gave Cæsar's enemies just occasion³ and colour⁴ to do as they did: as you shall hear. The Romans by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and Cæsar, being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the sport of the runners. The manner of this running was thus. On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chief officers for that year, who running naked up and down the city, anointed with the oil of olive, for pleasure do strike them they meet in their way with white leather thongs they have in their hands. Antonius, being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies and old customs of that solemnity, he ran to the tribune where Cæsar was set, and carried a laurel crown in his hand,

¹ fifth.

Cæsar and Antonius, consuls.

² referring to.

Antonius unwittingly gave Cæsar's enemies occasion to conspire against him.

³ reason.

⁴ excuse.

*Antonius
Lupercian
putteth the
diadem upon
Cæsar's
head.*

having a royal band or diadem wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient mark and token of a king. When he was come to Cæsar, he made his fellow-runners with him lift him up, and so he did put his laurel crown upon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But Cæsar, making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head: Cæsar again refused it; and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as Cæsar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things subjects should do by commandment of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. Cæsar, in a rage, arose out of his seat, and plucking down the collar of his gown from his neck, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This laurel crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of Cæsar's statues or images, the which one of the tribunes plucked off. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Cæsar did turn them out of their offices for it.

*Brutus and
Cassius con-
spire Cæsar's
death.*

¹ conspiracy.

² approved
of.

*Consulta-
tion about
the murder
of Antonius
with Cæsar.*

7. This was a good encouragement for Brutus and Cassius to conspire his death, who fell into a consort¹ with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise, but yet stood doubtful whether they should make Antonius privy to it or not. All the rest liked of² it, saving Trebonius only. He told them that, when they rode to meet Cæsar at his return out of Spain, Antonius and he always keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind afar off: but Antonius, finding his meaning, would hearken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding never made Cæsar acquainted with this talk, but had faithfully kept it to himself. After that, they consulted whether they should kill Antonius with Cæsar. But Brutus would in no wise consent to it, saying, that venturing on such an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and justice, it ought to be clear from all villany. Yet they, fearing Antonius' power, and the authority of his office, appointed certain of the conspiracy, that when Cæsar were gone into the senate, and while others should execute their enterprise, they should keep Antonius in a talk out of the senate-house. Even as they had devised these mat-

ters, so were they executed: and Cæsar was slain in the midst¹ of the Senate. Antonius being put in a fear withal, cast a slave's gown upon him, and hid himself. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers² slew no man else, and that they went only into the Capitol, he sent his son unto them for a pledge, and bade them boldly come down upon his word. The selfsame day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bade Brutus. The next morning the senate was assembled, and Antonius himself preferred³ a law, that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint provinces unto Cassius and Brutus: the which the senate confirmed, and further ordained, that they should cancel none of Cæsar's laws. Thus went Antonius out of the senate more praised and better esteemed than ever man was, because it seemed to every man that he had cut off all occasion of civil wars, and that he had shewed himself a marvellous wise governor of the commonwealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great weight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceived of himself after he had a little felt the good-will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himself the chiefest man if he might overcome Brutus, did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore, when Cæsar's body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funeral oration in commendation of Cæsar, according to the ancient custom of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to hear Cæsar spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his oration with lamentable words; and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine⁴, to conclude his oration, he unfolded before the whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, and called the malefactors cruel and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently⁵ took Cæsar's body, and burnt it in the market-place, with such tables and forms as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they took firebrands, and ran to the murtherers' houses to set them on fire, and to make them come out to fight. Brutus therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons, were driven to fly the city. Then came all Cæsar's friends unto Antonius, and specially his wife Calpurnia, putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her money into his house, which amounted to the sum

¹ midst.² murderers.³ proposed.⁴ finally.

*Antonius
maketh up-
roar among
the people,
for the mur-
ther of
Cæsar.
5 forthwith.*

*Calpurnia,
Cæsar's wife.*

*Charonites,
why so call-
ed.*

*M. Antonius
Consul.
Caius An-
tonius Præ-
tor.
Lucius An-
tonius Tri-
bune; all
three bre-
thren.*

*Variance
betwixt
Antonius
and Octa-
vius Cæsar,
heir unto
Julius Cæ-
sar.*

¹ close at
hand, urgent.

*Octavius
Cæsar join-
ed in friend-
ship with
Cicero.*

of 4000 talents; and furthermore brought him all Cæsar's books and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done and ordained. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were prisoners: and then he said, that all those things were so appointed and ordained by Cæsar. Therefore the Romans, mocking them that were so moved, they called them Charonites, because that, when they were overcome, they had no other help but to say, that thus they were found in Cæsar's memorials, who had sailed in Charon's boat, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consul, and Caius, one of his brethren, Prætor, and Lucius the other, Tribune.

8. Now things remaining in this state at Rome, Octavius Cæsar the younger came to Rome, who was the son of Julius Cæsar's niece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawful heir by will, remaining, at the time of the death of his great uncle that was slain, in the city of Apollonia. This young man at his first arrival went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father Cæsar's friends, who by his last will and testament had made him his heir; and withal, he was presently in hand with him for money and other things which were left of trust in his hands; because Cæsar had by will bequeathed unto the people of Rome threescore and fifteen silver drachmas to be given to every man, the which he as heir stood charged withal. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very young, and said, he lacked wit and good friends to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand, as to undertake to be Cæsar's heir. But when Antonius saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in hand¹ with him for his father's goods, but specially for the ready money, then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keep him from being Tribune of the people: and also, when Octavius Cæsar began to meddle with the dedicating of the chair of gold, which was prepared by the senate to honour Cæsar with, he threatened to send him to prison, and moreover desisted not to put the people in an uproar. This young Cæsar, seeing his doings, went unto Cicero and others, which were Antonius' enemies, and by them crept into favour with the senate: and he himself sought the people's good will every manner of way, gathering together the old sol-

diers of the late deceased Cæsar, which were dispersed in divers cities and colonies. Antonius, being afraid of it, talked with Octavius in the Capitol, and became his friend. But the very same night Antonius had a strange dream, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Cæsar lay in wait to kill him. Cæsar cleared himself unto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make Antonius believe to the contrary. Whereupon they became further enemies than ever they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old soldiers through Italy, that were dispersed in divers towns: and made them large promises, and sought also to win the legions on their side, which were already in arms. Cicero on the other side, being at that time the chiefest man of authority and estimation in the city, he stirred up all men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed young Cæsar sergeants to carry axes before him, and such other signs as were incident to the dignity of a Consul or Prætor: and moreover, sent Hircius and Pansa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls, together with Cæsar, who also had an army, went against Antonius that besieged the city of Modena, and there overthrew him in battle: but both the Consuls were slain there.

9. Antonius, flying upon this overthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would overcome any adversity: and the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he himself. Every man that feelth want or adversity, knoweth by virtue and discretion what he should do: but when indeed they are overlaid with extremity, and be sore oppressed, few have the hearts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much less to avoid that they reprove and dislike¹: but rather to the contrary, they yield to their accustomed easy life, and through faint heart, and lack of courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderful example to the soldiers, to see Antonius, that was brought up in all fineness and superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to eat wild fruits and roots: and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alps, they did eat the barks of trees, and such beasts as never man tasted of their flesh before. Now

Antonius and Octavius became friends. Antonius' dream.

Antonius judged an enemy by the Senate.

Hircius and Pansa Consuls.

Antonius overthrown in battle by the city of Modena. Antonius patient in adversity.

¹ dislike.

Antonius' hardness in adversity, notwithstanding his fine bringing up.

their intent was to join with the legions that were on the other side of the mountains, under Lepidus' charge: whom Antonius took to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at Cæsar's hand, through his means. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter¹ himself, and to go unto Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at Modena, he suffered his beard to grow at length and never clipt it, that it was marvellous long, and the hair of his head also without combing: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gown, and after this sort came hard² to the trenches of Lepidus' camp. Then he began to speak unto the soldiers, and many of them their hearts yearned for pity to see him so poorly arrayed, and some also, through his words, began to pity him: insomuch that Lepidus began to be afraid, and therefore commanded all the trumpets to sound together to stop the soldiers' ears, that they should not hearken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the soldiers took the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius' and Lælius' means, whom they sent unto him disguised in women's apparel, and gave him counsel that he should not be afraid to enter into their camp, for there were a great number of soldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would say the word. Antonius would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a little river that ran between them: and himself was the foremost man that took³ the river to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus' camp, that gave him their hands, plucked up the stakes, and laid flat the bank of their trench to let him into their camp. When he was come into their camp, and that he had all the army at his commandment, he used Lepidus very courteously, embraced him, and called him father: and though indeed Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gave Lepidus the name and honour of the captain. Munacius Plancus, lying also in camp hard by with an army, understanding the report of Antonius' courtesy, he also came and joined with him.

10. Thus Antonius being afoot again, and grown of great power, repassed over the Alps, leading into Italy with him seventeen legions, and ten thousand horsemen, besides six legions he left in garrison among the Gauls, under the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would drink lustily with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed Cotylon, to wit⁴,

¹ venture.

² close.

³ entered.

Antonius won all Lepidus' army from him.

Varius surnamed Cotylon.

⁴ that is to say.

a bibber¹. So Octavius Cæsar would not lean to Cicero, when he saw that his whole travell² and endeavour was only to restore the commonwealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certain of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends again: and thereupon all three met together (to wit³, Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus) in an iland⁴ environed round about with a little river, and there remained three days together. Now as touching all other matters they were easily agreed, and did divide all the empire of Rome between them, as if it had been their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would⁵ kill their enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their enemies, they spurned all reverence of blood and holiness of friendship at their feet. For Cæsar left Cicero to Antonius' will, Antonius also forsook Lucius Cæsar, who was his uncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirm, that Cæsar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change than this was. For thus changing⁶ murder⁷ for murder, they did as well kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kill: but so much more was their wickedness and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed upon between them, the soldiers that were thereabouts would have his friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by marriage, and that Cæsar should marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, Antonius' wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, they condemned 300 of the chiefest citizens of Rome to be put to death by proscription. And Antonius also commanded them to whom he had given commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective orations (called *Philippides*) against Antonius. So when the murderers brought him Cicero's head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great joy, and laughed heartily, and that oftentimes, for the great joy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, over the pulpit for orations (where, when he was alive, he had often spoken to the people), as if he

¹ tippler.² travail.

The conspiracy and meeting of Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus.

³ namely.⁴ island.⁵ desired to.

The proscription of the Triumviri.

⁶ exchanging.⁷ murder.

Antonius' cruelty unto Cicero.

*Lucius
Cæsar's life
saved by his
sister.*

*Antonius'
riot in his
Triumvi-
rate.*

¹ ceased.

*The praise
of Pompey
the Great.*

² cheating.

had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his own fortune, shewing himself (to his great shame and infamy) a cruel man, and unworthy the office and authority he bare. His uncle Lucius Cæsar also, as they sought for him to kill him and followed him hard, fled unto his sister. The murderers coming thither, forcing to break into her chamber, she stood at her chamber-door with her arms abroad, crying out still: "You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar, before you first kill me, that bare your captain in my womb." By this means she saved her brother's life. Now the government of these Triumviri grew odious and hateful to the Romans, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, because he, being elder than Cæsar, and of more power and force than Lepidus, gave himself again to his former riot and excess, when he left¹ to deal in the affairs of the commonwealth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolency, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the great, a man as famous for his temperance, modesty, and civil life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the captains, magistrates of the city, and also ambassadors of strange nations, which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of tumblers, antic dancers, jugglers, players, jesters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzzling; and that on them he bestowed the most part of his money he got by all kind of possible extortions, bribery, and policy². For they did not only sell by the crier the goods of those whom they had outlawed and appointed to murder, slanderously deceived the poor widows and young orphans, and also raised all kinds of imposts, subsidies, and taxes, but understanding also that the holy Vestal nuns had certain goods and money put in their custody to keep, both of men's in the city and those also that were abroad, they went thither and took them away by force.

11. Octavius Cæsar perceiving that no money would serve Antonius' turn, he prayed that they might divide the money between them; and so did they also divide the army, for them both to go into Macedon to make war against Brutus and Cassius: and in the mean time they left the government of the city of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the seas, and that they began to make war, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Cæsar against Brutus, Cæsar did no great matter, but Antonius had

always the upper hand, and did all. For at the first battle Cæsar was overthrown by Brutus, and lost his camp, and very hardly saved himself by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit, he writeth himself in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was given, because of a dream one of his friends had. Antonius on the other side overthrew Cassius in battle, though some write that he was not there himself at the battle, but that he came after the overthrow, whilst his men had the enemies in chase. So Cassius, at his earnest request, was slain by a faithful servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had enfranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Cæsar. Shortly after they fought another battle again, in the which Brutus was overthrown, who afterwards also slew himself. Thus Antonius had the chiefest glory of this victory, specially because Cæsar was sick at that time. Antonius having found Brutus' body after this battle, blaming him much for the murther¹ of his brother Caius, whom he had put to death in Macedon for revenge of Cicero's cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortensius than in him, he made Hortensius to be slain on his brother's tomb. Furthermore he cast his coat-armour² (which was wonderful rich and sumptuous) upon Brutus' body, and gave commandment to one of his slaves enfranchised, to defray the charge of his burial. But afterwards Antonius hearing that his enfranchised bondman had not burnt his coat-armour² with his body, because it was very rich and worth a great sum of money, and that he had also kept back much of the ready money appointed for his funeral and tomb, he also put him to death.

*The valiant-
ness of
Antonius
against
Brutus.*

*The death of
Cassius.*

*Brutus slew
himself.
¹ murder.*

*²ornamented
coat.*

*Antonius
gave
honourable
burial unto
Brutus.*

³ imposts.

*Antonius'
great cour-
tesy in
Greece.*

12. After that, Cæsar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor escape the sickness he had. Antonius on the other side went towards the east provinces and regions to levy money: and first of all he went into Greece, and carried an infinite number of soldiers with him. Now, because every soldier was promised five thousand silver drachmas, he was driven of necessity to impose extreme tallages³ and taxations. At his first coming into Greece, he was not hard nor bitter unto the Grecians, but gave himself only to hear wise men dispute, to see plays, and also to note the ceremonies and sacrifices of Greece, ministering justice to every man: and it pleased him marvellously to hear them call him Philellen (as much to say, a lover of the Grecians), and specially the Athenians, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the Megarians, to exceed the Athenians, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly sight,

they prayed him to come and see their senate-house and council-hall. Antonius went thither to see it. So when he had seen it at his pleasure, they asked him: "My lord, how like you our hall?" "Me thinks," quoth he, "it is little, old, and ready to fall down." Furthermore he took measure of the temple of Apollo Pythias, and promised the senate to finish it. But when he was once come into Asia, having left Lucius Censorinus governor in Greece, and that he had felt¹ the riches and pleasures of the east parts, and that princes, great lords, and kings, came to wait at his gate for his coming out: and that queens and princesses, to excel one another, gave him very rich presents, and came to see him, curiously setting forth themselves, and using all art that might be to shew their beauty, to win his favour the more (Cæsar in the mean space turmoiling² his wits and body in civil wars at home, Antonius living merrily and quietly abroad), he easily fell again to his old licentious life. For straight, one Anaxenor, a player of the cithern³, Xoutus, a player of the flute, Metrodorus a tumbler, and such a rabble of minstrels and fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia (who in fineness and flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of Italy), all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway: and after that all went awry. For every one gave themselves to riot and excess, when they saw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the city Sophocles speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

Was full of sweet perfumes and pleasant songs,
With woeful weeping mingled there-amongs.

For in the city of Ephesus, women, attired as they go in the feasts and sacrifice of Bacchus, came out to meet him with such solemnities and ceremonies as are then used: with men and children disguised like fauns and satyrs. Moreover, the city was full of ivy, and darts wreathed about with ivy, psalterions⁴, flutes, and howboyes⁵; and in their songs they called him Bacchus, father of mirth, courteous and gentle: and so was he unto some, but to the most part of men cruel and extreme. For he robbed noblemen and gentlemen of their goods, to give it unto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged living men's goods, as though they had been dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a citizen's house of Magnesia unto a cook, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and imposed a second upon Asia. But then Hybræas the orator, sent from the estates of Asia, to tell him the state of their country, boldly said unto him: "If thou

¹ perceived.

² troubling.

³ a kind of guitar.

The plagues of Italy, in riot.

* psalteries.

⁵ hautboys.

Antonius' cruelty in Asia.

Hybræas' words unto Antonius

wilt have power to lay two tributes in one year upon us, thou shouldest also have power to give us two summers, two autumns, and two harvests." This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken unto Antonius by the orator, and it pleased him well to hear it: but afterwards, amplifying his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose: "Asia hath paid thee two hundred thousand talents. If all this money be not come to thy coffers, then ask account of them that levied it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone." Hybræas' words nettled Antonius roundly¹. For he understood not of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authority, in his treasure and affairs: not so much because he was careless, as for that he over simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plain man, without subtilty, and therefore over late found out the foul faults they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confess it unto them whom his officers had done injury unto by countenance of his authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish offenders as to reward well-doers: and yet he did exceed more in giving than in punishing. Now for² his outrageous manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting³ of every man, that was remedied by itself; for a man might as boldly exchange a mock with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked as to mock others: but yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly and truly in mirth, would never flatter him in good earnest in any matters of weight. But thus he was easily abused⁴ by the praises they gave him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flattery under this familiar and plain manner of speech unto him, as a fine device to make difference of meats with sharp and tart sauce; and also to keep him by this frantic⁵ jesting and bourding⁶ with him at the table, that their common flattery should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easily mislike⁷ to have too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would give him place in any matter of weight and follow his counsel, that it might not appear to him they did it so much to please him, but because they were ignorant, and understood not so much as he did.

13. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extremest mischief of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stir up many vices yet hidden in him, and were never seen to any: and if any spark of goodness or hope of

*touching
their great
payments
of money
unto him.*

¹ greatly.

*Antonius'
simplicity.*

*Antonius'
manners.
² as for
³ befooling.*

⁴ deceived.

⁵ foolish.
⁶ joking.

⁷ dislike.

*Antoni-
us' love to Cleo-
patra whom
he sent for
into Cilicia.*

¹ observed.

² in no way
suspected.

³ decked out.

⁴ surpassing.

*The wonder-
ful sumptu-
ousness of
Cleopatra,
Queen of
Egypt, going
unto Anto-
nius.*

Cydnus fl.

⁵ hautboys.

⁶ guitars.

rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straight, and made it worse than before. The manner how he fell in love with her was this. Antonius, going to make war with the Parthians, sent to command Cleopatra to appear personally before him when he came into Cilicia, to answer unto such accusations as were laid against her, being this: that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their war against him. The messenger sent unto Cleopatra, to make this summons unto her, was called Dellius; who when he had throughly considered¹ her beauty, the excellent grace and sweetness of her tongue, he nothing mistrusted² that Antonius would do any hurt to so noble a lady, but rather assured himself, that within few days she should be in great favour with him. Thereupon he did her great honour, and persuaded her to come into Cilicia, as honourably furnished³ as she could possible; and bad her not to be afraid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous lord than any that she had ever seen. Cleopatra on the other side, believing Dellius' words, and guessing by the former access and credit she had with Julius Cæsar and C. Pompey (the son of Pompey the Great) only for her beauty, she began to have good hope that she might more easily win Antonius. For Cæsar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the world meant: but now she went to Antonius at the age when a woman's beauty is at the prime, and she also of best judgment. So she furnished⁴ herself with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthy and rich a realm as Egypt was. But yet she carried nothing with her wherein she trusted more than in herself, and in the charms and enchantment of her passing⁴ beauty and grace. Therefore, when she was sent unto by divers letters, both from Antonius himself and also from his friends, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus; the poop whereof was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, howboys⁵, cithernes⁶, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of her self, she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus, commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god

Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them, were apparelled like the nymphs Nereids (which are the mermaids of the waters) and like the Graces; some steering the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderful passing¹ sweet savour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharf's side, pestered² with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all along the river-side: others also ran out of the city to see her coming in. So that in the end, there ran such multitudes of people one after another to see her, that Antonius was left post³ alone in the market-place, in his imperial seat, to give audience: and there went a rumour in the people's mouths, that the goddess Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus, for the general good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to him. But she sent him word again, he should do better rather to come and sup with her. Antonius therefore, to shew himself courteous unto her at her arrival, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing⁴ sumptuous fare, that no tongue can express it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lights and torches hanged⁵ on the top of the house, giving light in every place, so artificially set and ordered by devices, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever books could mention. The next night Antonius, feasting her, contended to pass⁶ her in magnificence and fineness: but she overcame him in both. So that he himself began to scorn the gross service of his house, in respect of Cleopatra's sumptuousness and fineness. And when Cleopatra found Antonius' jests and slents⁷ to be but gross⁸ and soldier-like, in plain manner, she gave it⁹ him finely, and without fear taunted him thoroughly¹⁰. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing as unmatchable of other women, nor yet such as upon present view did enamour men with her: but so sweet was her company and conversation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talk and discourse, her courteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvellous pleasant: for her tongue was an instrument of music to divers sports and pastimes, the which she easily turned into any language that pleased her. She spake unto few barba-

¹ surpassingly.
² crowded.

³ posted.

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

⁴ surpassing.

⁵ hung.

⁶ surpass.

⁷ sly hits.

⁸ coarse.

⁹ derided.

¹⁰ thoroughly.
Cleopatra's beauty.

2.

rous people by interpreter, but made them answer her self, or at the least the most part of them: as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her progenitors, the kings of Egypt, could scarce learn the Egyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speak the Macedonian.

14. Now Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fulvia had great wars, and much ado with Cæsar for his affairs, and that the army of the Parthians (the which the king's lieutenants had given to the only¹ leading of Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia, ready to invade Syria; yet (as though all this had nothing touched him) he yielded himself to go with Cleopatra unto Alexandria, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle pastimes, the most precious thing a man can spend (as Antiphon saith), and that is, time. For they made an order between them, which they called *Animetobion* (as much to say, no life comparable and matchable with it). one feasting each other by turns, and in cost exceeding all measure and reason. And for proof hereof, I have heard my grandfather Lampryas report, that one Philotas, a physician, born in the city of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied physic; and that having acquaintance with one of Antonius' cooks, he took him with him to Antonius' house (being a young man desirous to see things), to shew him the wonderful sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diversities of meats, and amongst others eight wild boars roasted whole, he began to wonder at it, and said: "Sure you have a great number of guests to supper." The cook fell a-laughing, and answered him: "No," quoth he, "not many guests, nor above twelve in all: but yet all that is boiled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight: for Antonius peradventure will sup presently, or it may be a pretty while hence, or likely enough he will defer it longer, for that he hath drunk well today, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we do not dress one supper only, but many suppers, because we are uncertain of the hour he will sup in." Philotas the physician told my grandfather this tale, and said moreover, that it was his chance shortly after to serve the eldest son of the said Antonius, whom he had by his wife Fulvia; and that he sat commonly at his table with

¹ sole.

*An order
set up by
Antonius
and Cleopatra
in Egypt.*

*Eight wild
boars roast-
ed whole.*

*Philotas a
physician
born in
Amphissa,
reporter of
this feast.*

his other friends, when he did not dine nor sup with his father. It chanced one day there came a physician that was so full of words, that he made every man weary of him at the board : but Philotas, to stop his mouth, put out this subtle proposition to him : "It is good in some sort to let a man drink cold water that hath an ague : but every man that hath an ague, hath it in some sort : *ergo*, it is good for every man that hath an ague to drink cold water." The physician was so gravelled¹ and amated² withal, that he had not a word more to say. Young Antonius burst out into such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said unto him : "Philotas, take all that, I give it thee : " shewing him his cupboard full of plate, with great pots of gold and silver. Philotas thanked him, and told him he thought himself greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have given so many things, and of so great value. But much more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius' men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his mark and stamp upon them, and to lock them up. Philotas returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reprov'd if he took them. Then the young gentleman Antonius said unto him : "Alas, poor man, why doest thou make it nice³ to take them? knowest thou not that it is the son of Antonius that gives them thee, and is able to do it? if thou wilt not believe me, take rather the ready money they come to : because my father peradventure may ask for some of the plate, for the antick⁴ and excellent workmanship of them." This I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes.

15. But now again to Cleopatra. Plato writeth that there are four kinds of flattery : but Cleopatra divided it into many kinds. For she (were it in sport, or in matters of earnest) still devised sundry new delights to have Antonius at commandment, never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dice with him, drink with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And sometime also, when he would go up and down the city disguised like a slave in the night, and would peer into poor men's windows and their shops, and scold and brawl with them within the house, Cleopatra would be also in a chamber-maid's array, and amble up and down the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mocks and blows. Now though ~~most~~ men misliked⁵ this manner, yet the Alexandrians were

Philotas physician to the younger Antonius. Philotas' subtle proposition.

¹ posed.

² disconcerted.

³ seem reluctant.

⁴ antique.

Plato writeth of four kinds of flattery. Cleopatra queen of all flatterers.

⁵ disliked.

¹ foolish.*Antonius'
fishing in
Egypt.*² discovered.³ at once.*The wars of
Lucius An-
tonius and
Fulvia
against
Octavius
Cæsar.*

commonly glad of this jollity, and liked it well, saying very gallantly and wisely: 'that Antonius shewed them a comical face, to wit, a merry countenance: and the Romans a tragical face, to say, a grim look.' But to reckon up all the foolish sports they made, revelling in this sort, it were too fond¹ a part of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angry as could be, because Cleopatra stood by. Wherefore he secretly commanded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fish on his hook which they had taken before: and so snatched up his angling-rod, and brought up a fish twice or thrice. Cleopatra found² it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondered at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by herself among her own people, she told them how it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher-boats to see this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line, and Cleopatra straight commanded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius' men, and to put some old salt-fish upon his bait, like unto those that are brought out of the country of Pont. When he had hung the fish on his hook, Antonius, thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched up his line presently³. Then they all fell a-laughing. Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him: "Leave us, my lord, Egyptians (which dwell in the country of Pharos and Canopus) your angling-rod: this is not thy profession, thou must hunt after conquering of realms and countries."

16. Now Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill news were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius and Fulvia his wife fell out first between themselves, and afterwards fell to open war with Cæsar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to fly out of Italy. The second news, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all Asia with the army of the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates and from Syria unto the country of Lydia and Ionia. Then began Antonius with much ado a little to rouse himself, as if he had been wakened out of a deep sleep, and, as a man may say, coming out of a great drunkenness. So, first of all he bent himself against the Parthians, and went as far as the country of Phœnicia: but there he received lamentable letters

from his wife Fulvia. Whereupon he straight returned towards Italy, with two hundred sail: and as he went, took up his friends by the way that fled out of Italy to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this war: who being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uproar in Italy, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune his wife Fulvia, going to meet with Antonius, sickened by the way, and died in the city of Sicyon: and therefore Octavius Cæsar and he were the easilier¹ made friends again. For when Antonius landed in Italy, and that men saw Cæsar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side laid all the fault and burdèn on his wife Fulvia; the friends of both parties would not suffer them to unrip any old matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer² of this war, fearing to make matters worse between them: but they made them friends together, and divided the empire of Rome between them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces eastward unto Antonius, and the countries westward unto Cæsar, and left Africa unto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three, one after another, should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be themselves. This seemed to be a sound counsel, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter³ bond, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia, the eldest sister of Cæsar, not by one mother, for she came of Ancharia, and Cæsar himself afterwards of Accia. It is reported, that he dearly loved his sister Octavia, for indeed she was a noble lady, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who died not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had been widower ever since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, neither did he confess that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this Egyptian Cleopatra. Thereupon every man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this lady Octavia, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honesty, joined unto so rare a beauty, when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a lady deserveth) she should be a good mean⁴ to keep good love and amity betwixt her brother and him. So when Cæsar and he had made the match between them, they both went to Rome about this marriage, although it was against the law that a widow should be married within

*The death
of Fulvia,
Antonius'
wife.
1 more easily.*

² author.

*All the
empire of
Rome di-
vided be-
tween the
Triumviri.*

³ stricter.

*Octavia the
half sister
of Octavius
Cæsar, and
daughter of
Ancharia,
which was
not Cæsar's
mother.*

⁴ means.

*A law at
Rome for*

*marrying of
widows.
Antonius
married
Octavia,
Octavius
Cæsar's
half sister.*

*Antonius
and Octa-
vius Cæsar
do make
peace with
Sextus
Pompeius.*

¹ a certain
quantity.
² lots.

*Sextus
Pompeius'
taunt to
Antonius.*

³ enough.

*Sextus
Pompeius
being offered
wonderful
great for-
tune, for his
honesty and
faith's sake
refused it.*

ten months after her husband's death. Howbeit the senate dispensed with the law, and so the marriage proceeded accordingly.

17. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inroad into Italy with a great number of pinnaces and other pirates' ships, of the which were captains two notable pirates, Menas and Menecrates, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peep out with a sail. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with Antonius, for he had courteously received his mother when she fled out of Italy with Fulvia, and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, upon a hill that runneth far into the sea: Pompey having his ships riding hard by at anchor, and Antonius and Cæsar their armies upon the shore-side, directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicily and Sardinia, with this condition, that he should rid the sea of all thieves and pirates, and make it safe for passengers, and withal, that he should send a certain¹ of wheat to Rome, one of them did feast another, and drew cuts² who should begin. It was Pompeius chance to invite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: "And where shall we sup?" "There," said Pompey; and shewed him his admiral galley which had six banks of oars: "that," said he, "is my father's house they have left me." He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he had his father's house, that was Pompey the Great. So he cast anchors enow³ into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to convey them to his galley, from the head of mount Misena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheer. Now in the midst of the feast, when they fell to be merry with Antonius' love unto Cleopatra, Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his ear, said unto him: "Shall I cut the cables of the anchors, and make thee lord not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole empire of Rome besides?" Pompey, having paused a while upon it, at length answered him: "Thou shouldest have done it, and never have told it me; but now we must content us with that we have: as for myself, I was never taught to break my faith, nor to be counted a traitor." The other two also did likewise feast him in their camp, and then he returned into Sicily.

18. Antonius, after this agreement made, sent Ventidius before into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keep them they

should come no further: and he himself in the mean time, to gratify Cæsar, was contented to be chosen Julius Cæsar's priest and sacrificer, and so they jointly together dispatched all great matters concerning the state of the empire. But in all other manner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other, Antonius was ever inferior unto Cæsar, and alway lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Egypt, that could cast a figure, and judge of men's nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of itself was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemished and obscured by Cæsar's fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. "For thy demon," said he, (that is to say, the good angel and spirit that keepeth thee) "is afraid of his: and being courageous and high when he is alone, becometh fearful and timorous when he cometh near unto the other." Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the Egyptian's words true: for it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts¹ for pastime, who should have anything, or whether they played at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another, Cæsar's cocks or quails did ever overcome. The which spited Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therefore he believed the Egyptian the better. In fine², he recommended³ the affairs of his house unto Cæsar, and went out of Italy with Octavia his wife, whom he carried into Greece after he had had a daughter by her.

19. So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens, news came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battle, in the which also were slain Labienus and Pharnabates, the chiefest captains king Orodes had. For these good news he feasted all Athens, and kept open house for all the Grecians, and many games of price were played at Athens, of the which he himself would be judge. Wherefore leaving his guard, his axes, and tokens of his empire at his house, he came into the shew-place or lists (where these games were played) in a long gown and slippers after the Grecian fashion, and they carried tipstaves⁴ before him, as marshals' men do carry before the judges, to make place: and he himself in person was a stickler⁵ to part the young men, when they had fought enough.

Antonius told by a soothsayer that his fortune was inferior unto Octavius Cæsar's.

¹ lots.

Antonius unfortunate in sport and earnest against Octavius Cæsar.

² finally.

³ committed.

Orodes king of Parthia.

⁴ maces.

⁵ umpire.

*Ventidius'
notable vic-
tory of the
Parthians.*

*The death
of Pacorus
the king of
Parthia's
son.*

*Ventidius
the only
man of the
Romans
that tri-
umphed for
the Par-
thians
acquit.*

After that, preparing to go to the wars, he made him a garland of the holy olive, and carried a vessel with him of the water of the fountain Clepsydra, because of an oracle he had received, that so commanded him. In the meantime, Ventidius once again overcame Pacorus (Orodes' son, king of Parthia) in a battle fought in the country of Cyrrestica, he being come again with a great army to invade Syria: at which battle was slain a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus, the king's own son. This noble exploit, as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romans of the shame and loss they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians fly, and glad to keep themselves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia and Media, after they had thrice together been overcome in several battles. Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any farther, fearing lest he should have gotten Antonius' displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his army against them that had rebelled, and conquered them again: amongst whom he besieged Antiochus king of Commagena, who offered him to give a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at Antonius' commandment. But Ventidius made him answer, that he should send unto Antonius; who was not far off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this little exploit should pass in his name, and that they should not think he did anything but by his lieutenant Ventidius. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the town, seeing they could not be received upon no reasonable composition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he took not their first offer. And yet at the last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state and affairs of Syria, he returned again to Athens: and having given Ventidius such honours as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumph for the Parthians. Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians until this present day, a mean man born, and of no noble house or family: who only came to that he attained unto, through Antonius' friendship, the which delivered him happy occasion to achieve great matters. And yet to say truly, he did so well quit¹ himself in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cæsar, to

wit, that they were always more fortunate when they made war by their lieutenants than by themselves. For Sossius, one of Antonius' lieutenants in Syria, did notable good service: and Canidius, whom he had also left his lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto mount Caucasus. By these conquests the fame of Antonius' power increased more and more, and grew dreadful unto all the barbarous nations.

Canidius' conquests.

20. But Antonius, notwithstanding, grew to be marvellously offended with Cæsar, upon certain reports that had been brought unto him, and so took sea to go towards Italy with three hundred sail. And because those of Brundisium would not receive his army into their haven, he went farther unto Tarentum. There his wife Octavia, that came out of Greece with him, besought him to send her unto her brother, the which he did. Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put herself in journey, and met with her brother Octavius Cæsar by the way, who brought his two chief friends, Mæcenus and Agrippa, with him. She took them aside, and with all the instance¹ she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her, that was the happiest woman of the world, to become now the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. "For now," said she, "every man's eyes do gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the emperors, and wife of the other. And if the worst counsel take place (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to wars: for yourselves, it is uncertain to which of them two the gods have assigned the victory or overthrow. But for me, on which side soever the victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still." These words of Octavia so softened Cæsar's heart, that he went quickly unto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an army by land not to stir; and so many ships afloat in the road quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindness of friends, lovingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Cæsar, which he granted unto for his sister's sake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Cæsar should give Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians, and that Antonius should let Cæsar have an hundred galleys armed with brazen spurs at the prows. Besides all this, Octavia obtained of her husband twenty brigantines for her brother, and of her

New displeasures betwixt Antonius and Octavius Cæsar.

The words of Octavia unto Mæcenus and Agrippa.
¹ urgency.

Octavia pacifieth the quarrell betwixt Antonius and her brother Octavius Cæsar.

brother, for her husband, a thousand armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, Cæsar went immediately to make war with Sextus Pompeius, to get Sicilia into his hands. Antonius also, leaving his wife Octavia and little children begotten of her, with Cæsar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia, went directly into Asia.

21. Then began this pestilent plague and mischief of Cleopatra's love (which had slept a long time, and seemed to have been utterly forgotten, and that Antonius had given place to better counsel) again to kindle, and to be in force, so soon as Antonius came near unto Syria. And in the end, the horse of the mind, as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rein (I mean the unreined lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius' head all honest and commendable thoughts; for he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria: unto whom, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that she had already, he added the provinces of Phœnicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the ile¹ of Cyprus, and a great part of Cilicia, and that country of Jewry where the true balm is, and that part of Arabia where the Nabathæans do dwell, which stretcheth out toward the ocean. These great gifts much misliked² the Romans. But now, though Antonius did easily give away great segniories, realms, and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he took from other kings their lawful realms (as from Antigonus, king of the Jews, whom he openly beheaded, where never king before had suffered like death): yet all this did not so much offend the Romans, as the unmeasurable honours which he did unto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill-will towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought him two twins, a son and a daughter, he named his son Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra; and gave them, to³ their surnames, the *Sun* to the one, and the *Moon* to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke⁴ his shameful deeds with fine words, said, 'that the greatness and magnificence of the empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romans took, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongst men by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seed in divers places: and that by this means his first ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity in the womb of one only woman, fearing Solon's laws, or regarding the ordinances of men touch-

*Plato call-
eth concu-
piscence the
horse of the
mind.*

*Antonius
sent for
Cleopatra
into Syria.
Antonius
gave great
provinces
unto Cleo-
patra.*
¹ isle.

² displeased.

*Antigonus
king of
Jewry, the
first king
beheaded by
Antonius.*

*Antonius'
twins by
Cleopatra,
and their
names.*
³ for.

⁴ cloake.

ing the procreation of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the foundation of many noble races and families in divers places.' Now when Phraortes had slain his father Orodes, and possessed the kingdom, many gentlemen of Parthia forsook him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Moneses, a nobleman, and of great authority among his countrymen, who came unto Antonius that received him, and compared his fortune unto Themistocles, and his own riches and magnificence unto the kings of Persia. For he gave Moneses three cities, Larissa, Arethusa and Hierapolis, which was called before Bombice. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home again, upon his faith and word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steal upon Phraortes unprovided¹. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remain good friends, and have peace together, so he would but only redeliver the standards and ensigns of the Romans (which the Parthians had won in the battle where M. Crassus was slain) and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this overthrow. In the meantime he sent Cleopatra back into Egypt, and took his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there took a general muster of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandment to aid him, being a marvellous number: of the which, the chiefest was Artavasdes king of Armenia, who did furnish him with 6000 horsemen, and 7000 footmen. There were also of the Romans about threescore thousand footmen, and of horsemen (Spaniards and Gauls reckoned for Romans) to the number of 10,000, and of other nations thirty thousand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light-armed footmen. This so great and puissant² army (which made the Indians quake for fear, dwelling about the country of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble) served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had, to lie all winter with her, made him begin this war out of due time, and for haste to put all in hazard: being so ravished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly return again, more than how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having come eight thousand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and invade Media before the Parthians should stir

*Phraortes
slew his
father
Orodes king
of Parthia.*

¹ unex-
pectedly.

*Antonius'
great and
puissant
army.*

² powerful.

*Antonius
drunk with
the love of
Cleopatra.*

out of their houses and garrisons: he could tarry no longer, but led them forthwith unto the province of Atropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and foraged all the country. Furthermore, making all the haste he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were carried with him in three hundred carts (among the which also there was a ram fourscore feet long), being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high provinces of Asia have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as an hindrance to bring his matters and intent speedily to pass: and left a certain number of men to keep them, and gave them in charge unto one Tatianus.

Antonius besiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.

22. Then he went to besiege the city of Phraata, being the chiefest and greatest city the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found out his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was fain, for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the wall¹), to force a mound of earth hard to the walls of the city, the which by little and little, with great labour, rose to some height. In the meantime king Phraortes came down with a great army, who, understanding that Antonius had left his engines of battery behind him, he sent a great number of horsemen before, which environed Tatianus with all his carriage¹, and slew him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this the barbarous people took these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they took also king Polemon. This discomfiture marvellously troubled all Antonius' army, to receive so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their journey: insomuch that Artabazus, king of the Armenians, despairing of the good success of the Romans, departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himself the first procurer² of this war and journey. On the other side, the Parthians came courageously unto Antonius' camp, who lay at the siege of their chiefest city, and cruelly reviled and threatened him. Antonius therefore, fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his men's hearts would fail them, he took ten legions, with three cohorts or ensigns of the Prætors (which are companies appointed for the guard of the general) and all his horsemen, and carried them out to forage,

¹ baggage.

The Parthians took Antonius' engines of battery.

² instigator.

hoping thereby he should easily allure the Parthians to fight a battle. But when he had marched about a day's journey from his camp, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to give him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would think to march his way. Therefore he set out his signal of battle, and yet caused his tents and fardels¹ to be trussed² up, as though he meant not to fight, but only to lead his men back again. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshalled like a cressant³ or half moon, and commanded his horsemen that, as soon as they thought the legions were near enough unto their enemies to set upon the vaward⁴, that then they should set spurs to their horses, and begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battle ray⁵, beholding the countenance of the Romans as they marched, *took them for soldiers indeed, for that they marched in as good array as was possible*. For in their march they kept their ranks a little space one from another, not stragglng out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking never a word. But so soon as the alarm was given, the horsemen suddenly turned head upon the Parthians, and with great cries gave charge on them: who at the first received their charge courageously, for they were joined nearer than within an arrow's shoot⁶. But when the legions also came to join with them, shouting out aloud, and rattling of their armours, the Parthians' horses and themselves were so afraid and amazed withal, that they all turned tail and fled, before the Romans could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great hope by this conflict to have brought to end all or the most part of this war. But after that his footmen had chased them fifty furlongs off, and the horsemen also thrice as far, they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about fourscore men only slain: which did much discourage them, when they considered with themselves, that obtaining the victory, they had slain so few of their enemies: and when they were overcome, they lost so many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when their carriage⁷ was taken. The next morning Antonius' army trussed⁸ up their carriage⁷, and marched back towards their camp: and by the way in their return they met at the first a few of the Parthians; then going on further, they met a few more. So at length when they all came together, they reviled them, and troubled them on every side, as freshly and courageously as if they had not been overthrown: so that the Romans very hardly⁹ got to their

¹ bundles.
² packed.

³ crescent.

⁴ vanguard.
*Battle be-
twixt the
Parthians
and Anto-
nius.*

⁵ array.
*—⁵so ed.
1631.
*The Romans'
good order in
their march.*

⁶ shot.

⁷ baggage.

⁸ packed.

⁹ with much
difficulty.

¹ guarded.

*Decimation
a martial
punishment.*

*The craft of
the Par-
thians
against the
Romans.*

² put up with.

camp with safety. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chief city of Phraata, made a sally out upon them that kept¹ the mount which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and drave them for fear from the mount they kept. Antonius was so offended withal, that he executed the decimation. For he divided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and for the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them instead of wheat. Thus the war fell out troublesome unto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearful; for Antonius could look for no other of his side but famine, because he could forage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loss of his men. Phraortes, on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the Parthians to anything else but to lie in camp abroad in the winter. Therefore he was afraid, that if the Romans continued their siege all winter long, and made war with him still, that his men would forsake him, and specially because the time of the year went away apace, and the air waxed cloudy and cold in the equinoctial autumn. Thereupon he called to mind this device: He gave the chiefest of his gentlemen of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romans out of their camp, going to forage, or to water their horse, or for some other provision, that they should not distress them too much, but should suffer them to carry somewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantness and hardiness, for which their king did esteem them the more, and not without cause. After these first baits and allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer unto them, and to talk with them a-horseback, greatly blaming Antonius' self-will, that did not give their king Phraortes occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more than to save the lives of so goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadful enemies he could have, to wit, winter and famine, the which they should hardly away withal², though the Parthians did the best they could to aid and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant, for the good hope he had of his return: but yet he would not send unto the king of Parthia before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so courteously unto his men, whether they spake it of themselves, or that they were their master's words. When they told them the king himself said so, and

did persuade them further not to fear or mistrust them, then Antonius sent some of his friends unto the king, to make demand for the delivery of the ensigns and prisoners he had of the Romans since the overthrow of Crassus, to the end it should not appear that, if he asked nothing, they should think he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the danger he was in. The king of Parthia answered him, that, for the ensigns and prisoners he demanded, he should not break¹ his head about it: notwithstanding that, if he would presently² depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius, after he had given his men some time to truss³ up their carriage⁴, he raised his camp, and took his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertain his soldiers and men of war, and that he could passingly⁵ well do it, as well, or better than any captain in his time: yet, being ashamed for respects, he would not speak unto them at his removing, but willed Domitius Ænobarbus to do it. Many of them took this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently understood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carry the like respect unto their captain that their captain did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him.

23. So Antonius was minded to return the same way he came, being a plain barren country without wood. But there came a soldier to him, born in the country of the Mardians, who, by oft frequenting the Parthians of long time, knew their fashions very well, and had also shewed himself very true and faithful to the Romans in the battle where Antonius' engines of battery and carriage were taken away. This man came unto Antonius, to counsel him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a prey (being heavily armed) unto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let⁶ them to compass him round about: and that this was Phraortes' fetch⁷, to offer him so friendly conditions and courteous words, to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meet him as he would in the plains: howbeit that he would guide him, if he thought good, another way on the right hand, through woods and mountains, a far nearer way, and where he should find great plenty of all things needful for his army. Antonius hearing what he said, called his counsel together to consult upon it. For after he had made peace with

¹ trouble.² at once.*Antonius returneth from the journey of the Parthians.*³ pack.⁴ baggage.⁵ exceedingly.⁶ prevent.⁷ device.

the Parthians, he was loth to give them cause to think he mistrusted them; and on the other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and pass by places well inhabited, where he might be provided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the Mardian what pledge he would put in, to perform that he promised. The Mardian gave himself to be bound hand and foot, till he had brought his army into the country of Armenia. So he guided the army thus bound, two days together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day Antonius, thinking the Parthians would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffered the soldiers to march in disorder as every man listed¹. The Mardian, perceiving that the dams of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the river had overflown the banks and drowned all the way they should have gone, he guessed straight that the Parthians had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the Romans for² getting too far before them. Therefore he bade Antonius look to himself, and told him that his enemies were not far from thence. Antonius, having set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and sling-men to resist the enemies, and to drive them back, they descried the Parthians that wheeled round about the army to compass them in on every side, and to break their ranks, and their light-armed men gave charge upon them. So after they had hurt many of the Romans with their arrows, and that they themselves were also hurt by them with their darts and plummets³ of lead, they retired a little, and then came again and gave charge, until that the horsemen of the Gauls turned their horses, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as⁴ all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rereward⁵ of his army, but both the flanks also, with darts and sling-men, and made his army march in a square battle⁶: commanding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assail them, they should drive them back, but not follow them too far. Thus the Parthians four days after, seeing they did no more hurt to the Romans than they also received of them, they were not so hot upon them as they were commanded, but excusing themselves by the winter that troubled them, they determined to return back again. The fift⁷ day Flavius Gallus, a valiant man of his hands⁸, that had charge in the army, came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have some mo⁹ of his light-armed men than were already in the rereward, and some

¹ pleased.² from.

The Parthians do set upon Antonius in his return.

³ bullets.⁴ that.⁵ rearguard.⁶ squadron.

The bold act of Flavius Gallus.

⁷ fifth.⁸ in fight.⁹ more.

of the horsemen that were in the vaward¹, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them unto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set upon the tail of the army, and to skirmish with them, Flavius courageously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and join presently with their army; for he over rashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The captains that had the leading of the rereward, seeing Flavius stray too far from the army, they sent unto him to will² him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himself, the treasurer, took the ensigns, and did what he could to make the ensign-bearers return back, reviling Flavius Gallus, because that through his folly and desperateness he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and slain to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to stay. Wherefore Titius returned again into the army, and Gallus still overthrowing and driving the enemies back whom he met in the vaward³, he was not ware⁴ that he was compassed in. Then, seeing himself environed on all sides, he sent unto the army, that they should come and aid him: but there the captains that led the legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimation about Antonius, made one) committed many faults. For where they should have made head with the whole army upon the Parthians, they sent him aid by small companies: and when they were slain, they sent him others also. So that by their beastliness⁵ and lack of consideration, they had like to have made all the army fly, if Antonius himself had not come from the front of the battle with the third legion, the which came through the midst⁶ of them that fled, until they came to front the enemies, and that they stayed them from chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slain no less than 3000 men, and 5000 besides brought sore hurt into the camp, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in four places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the tents to visit and comfort the sick and wounded, and for pity's sake he could not refrain from weeping: and they also, shewing him the best countenance they could, took him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble himself for them, most reverently calling him their emperor and captain: and that for themselves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed to say truly, there was not at that time any emperor or captain that had so great and puissant⁷ an army as his to-

¹ vanguard.² desire.³ vanguard.
⁴ aware.*Canidius' fault, Antonius' captain.*⁵ stupidity.⁶ midst.*Flavius Gallus slain. Antonius' care of them that were wounded.*⁷ strong.

¹ to endure.
*The love
 and reverence of the
 soldiers unto
 Antonius.*
² equally.

*The rare
 and singular
 gifts of
 Antonius.*

³ stayed in.

*The king of
 Parthia
 never came
 to fight in
 the field.*

⁴ uniform.

⁵ others.

⁶ dislike.

gether, both for lusty youths and courage of soldiers, as also for their patience to away with¹ so great pains and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto their captain, with a marvellous earnest love and good will, was so great, and all were indifferently² (as well great as small, the noble men as mean men, the captains as soldiers) so earnestly bent to esteem Antonius' good will and favour above their own life and safety, that, in this point of martial discipline, the ancient Romans could not have done any more. But divers things were cause thereof, as we have told you before: Antonius' nobility and ancient house, his eloquence, his plain nature, his liberality and magnificence, and familiarity to sport and to be merry in company; but especially the care he took at that time to help, visit, and lament those that were sick and wounded, seeing every man to have that which was meet for him: that was of such force and effect, as it made them that were sick and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him service, than those that were whole and sound. This victory so encouraged the enemies (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any farther) that all night long they kept³ the fields, and hovered about the Romans' camp, thinking that they would presently fly, and that then they should take the spoil of their camp. So the next morning by break of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the Parthians than they were before. For the rumour was, that there were not much fewer than 40,000 horse, because their king sent thither even the very guard about his person, as unto a most certain and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoil and booty they hoped to have had: for, as touching the king himself, he was never in any conflict or battle. Then Antonius, desirous to speak to his soldiers, called for a black gown, to appear the more pitiful to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his coat-armour⁴, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his army: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven back their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had overcome prayed him to be of good cheer: the other⁵ also, to clear themselves, willingly offered to take the lot of decimation if he thought good, or otherwise to receive what kind of punishment should please him to lay upon them, so that he would forget any more to dislike⁶, or to be offended with them. Antonius seeing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his

prayer to the gods, that if, in exchange of his former victories, they would now send him some bitter adversity, then that all might light on himself alone, and that they would give the victory to the rest of his army.

*Antonius
charitable
prayer to
the gods for
his army.*

24. The next morning, they gave better order on every side of the army, and so marched forward: so that when the Parthians thought to return again to assail them, they came far short of the reckoning. For where they thought¹ to come, not to fight, but to spoil and make havoc of all, when they came near them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other javelins as the Romans darted at them, and the Parthians found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had been fresh men they had dealt withal. Whereupon their hearts began again to fail them. But yet when the Romans came to go down any steep hills or mountains, they would set on them with their arrows, because the Romans could go down but fair and softly. But then again, the soldiers of the legion that carried great shields, returned back, and enclosed them that were naked² or light-armed in the midst among them, and did kneel of one knee on the ground, and so set down their shields before them: and they of the second rank also covered them of the first rank, and the third also covered the second, and so from rank to rank all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of covering and shading themselves with shields was devised after the fashion of laying tiles upon houses; and to sight was like the degrees³ of a theatre, and is a most strong defence and bulwark against all arrows and shot that falleth upon it. When the Parthians saw this countenance⁴ of the Roman soldiers of the legion which kneeled on the ground in that sort upon one knee, supposing that they had been wearied with travel, they laid down their bows, and took their spears and lances, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romans suddenly rose upon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them they slew the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next days that followed. But by means of these dangers and lets⁵, Antonius' army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could have but little corn, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it; and besides that, they had no instruments to grind it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had been left behind, because the beasts that carried them were either dead, or else employed to carry them that were

¹ expected.

*The Romans
testudo and
covering
against shot
² unarmed.*

³ steps.

⁴ appearance

⁵ delays.

Great famine in Antonius' army.

¹ upon.

A deadly herb incurable without wine.

² importance.

³ bile.

The valiantness of ten thousand Grecians, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus.

⁴ more.

⁵ considerably. *The Parthians very subtle and crafty people.*

sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreme great, that the eight part of a bushel of wheat was sold for fifty drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the weight of silver. In the end they were compelled to live of¹ herbs and roots, but they found few of them that men do commonly eat of, and were enforced to taste of them that were never eaten before: among the which, there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and [he] knew no manner of thing, but only busied himself in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had been a matter of great weight², and to be done with all possible speed. All the camp over, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast up a great deal of choler³, and died suddenly; because they lacked wine, which was the only sovereign remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius, seeing such a number of his men die daily, and that the Parthians left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest, he oftentimes cried out sighing, and said: "O ten thousand!" He had the valiantness of 10,000 Grecians in such admiration, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus: because they had come a farther journey from Babylon, and had also fought against much mo⁴ enemies many times told than themselves, and yet came home with safety. The Parthians therefore, seeing that they could not break the good order of the army of the Romans, and contrarily, that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and wellfavouredly⁵ beaten, they fell again to their old crafty subtilties. For when they found any of the Romans scattered from the army to go forage, to seek some corn or other victuals, they would come to them as if they had been their friends, and shewed them their bows unbent, saying, that themselves also did return home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no farther: howbeit that they should yet have certain Medes that would follow them a day's journey or two, to keep them that they should do no hurt to the villages from the high-ways; and so holding them with this talk, they gently took their leave of them, and bad them farewell, so that the Romans began again to think themselves safe. Antonius also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plain country, because also they should find no water in the mountains, as it was reported unto him.

25. So as he was determined to take his course, there came into his host one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies' camp, who was cousin unto Moneses that fled unto Antonius, and unto whom he had given three cities. When he came to Antonius' camp, he prayed them to bring him one that could speak the Parthian or Syrian tongue. So one Alexander Antiochian, a familiar of Antonius, was brought unto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and said that Moneses had sent him to Antonius, to requite the honour and courtesy he had shewed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious speech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high mountains afar off, which he pointed unto with his finger. Alexander answered he did. "The Parthians," said he, "do lie in ambush at the foot of those mountains, under the which lieth a goodly plain champion¹ country: and they think that you, being deceived with their crafty subtle words, will leave the way of the mountains, and turn into the plain. For² the other way, it is very hard and painful, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withal: but if Antonius take the lower way, let him assure himself to run the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did." So Mithridates having said, he departed. Antonius was marvelously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to hear what they would say to it. The Mardian also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered, that he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had said. "For," said he, "admit that there were no ambush of enemies in the valley, yet it is a long crooked way, and ill³ to hit⁴: where, taking the mountain way, though it be stony and painful, yet there is no other danger but a whole day's travelling without any water." So Antonius, changing his first mind and determination, removed that night, and took the mountain-way, commanding every man to provide himself of⁵ water. But the most part of them lacking vessels to carry water in, some were driven to fill their sallets⁶ and murrians⁷ with water, and others also filled goats' skins to carry water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought unto the Parthians that they were removed: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the self-same night, so that by break of day they overtook the rereward⁸ of the Romans, who were so lame and wearied with going⁹ and lack of sleep, that they were even done¹⁰. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night two hundred and forty furlongs; and further, to see

Mithridates a Parthian bewrayeth unto Antonius the conspiracy of his men countrymen against him.

¹ flat and open.

² as for.

³ hard.

⁴ find:

⁵ with.

⁶ helmets.

⁷ morions, head-pieces.

⁸ rearguard.

⁹ marching.

¹⁰ exhausted.

¹ vanguard.*A salt river.*² close by.³ retreat.

Antonius' great liberality unto Mithridates, for the care he had of his safety.

The tumult of Antonius soldiers through covetousness.
⁴ packages.

their enemies so suddenly at their backs, that made them utterly despair: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their enemies back, yet creeping on still. The vaward¹ of the army by chance met with a river that was very clear and cold water; but it was salt and venomous to drink: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunk it, and made them marvellous dry, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the Mardian had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them back that would have kept them from drinking, and so drank. But Antonius, going up and down amongst them, prayed them to take a little patience for a while, for hard by² there was another river that the water was excellent good to drink, and that from thenceforth the way was stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the retreat³ to be sounded to call them back that fought, and commanded the tents to be set up, that the soldiers might yet have shadow to refresh them with. So when the tents were set up, and the Parthians also retired according to their manner, the gentleman Mithridates before-named returned again as before, and Alexander in like manner again was brought unto him for interpreter. Then Mithridates advised him, that after the army had reposed a little, the Romans should remove forthwith, and with all possible speed get to the river: because the Parthians would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander carried the report thereof unto Antonius, who gave him a great deal of gold plate to bestow upon Mithridates. Mithridates took as much of him as he could well carry away in his gown, and so departed with speed.

26. So Antonius raised his camp, being yet day-light, and caused all his army to march, and the Parthians never troubled any of them by the way: but amongst themselves it was as ill and dreadful a night as ever they had. For there were villains of their own company who cut their fellows' throats for the money they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and carriage⁴ of such money as they carried, and at length they set upon Antonius' slaves that drave his own sumpters and carriage; they brake goodly tables and rich plate in pieces, and divided it among themselves. Thereupon all the camp was straight in tumult and uproar: for the residue of them were afraid it had been the Parthians that had given them this alarm, and had put

all the army out of order. Insomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his slaves enfranchised that was of his guard, and made him give him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head, because he might not be taken alive of his enemies, nor known when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the heart, that they burst out a-weeping for sorrow. The Mardian also did comfort him, and assured him that the river he sought for was hard by, and that he did guess it by a sweet moist wind that breathed upon them, and by the air which they found fresher than they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind¹ more at liberty; and moreover, because that since they did set forward, he thought they were near their journey's end, not lacking much of day. On the other side also Antonius was informed that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile covetousness and villany of certain of his soldiers. Therefore Antonius, to set his army again in order, and to pacify this uproar, sounded the trumpet that every man should lodge. Now day began to break, and the army to fall again into good order, and all the hurly-burly² to cease, when the Parthians drew near, and that their arrows lighted among them of the rereward³ of his army. Thereupon the signal of battle was given to the light-armed men, and the legioners⁴ did cover themselves as they had done before with their shields, with the which they received and defended the force of the Parthians' arrows, who never durst any more come to handy strokes⁵ with them: and thus they that were in the vaward⁶ went down by little and little, till at length they espied the river. There Antonius placed his armed men upon the sands to receive and drive back the enemies, and first of all, got over his men that were sick and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left to resist the enemies had leisure enough to drink safely and at their pleasure. For when the Parthians saw the river, they unbent their bows, and bad the Romans pass over without any fear, and greatly commended their valiantness. When they had all passed over the river at their ease, they took a little breath, and so marched forward again, not greatly trusting the Parthians. The sixth day after this last battle, they came to the river of Araxes, which divideth the country of Armenia from Media; the which appeared unto them very dangerous to pass, for the depth and swiftness of the stream. And furthermore there ran a rumour through the camp, that the

Antonius' desperate mind.

¹ breath.

² tumult.

³ rearguard.

⁴ men of the legion.

⁵ close quarters
⁶ vanguard.

Araxes fl.

*Eighteen
several bat-
tles fought
with the
Parthians.*

*The treache-
ry of Artabazus king
of Armenia
unto Antonius.*

¹ instigate.

² favour.

*Antonius
triumphed
of Artaba-
zus king of
Armenia,
in Egypt.
³ dislike.*

Parthians lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come and set upon them whilst they were troubled in passing over the river. But now, after they were all come safely over without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other side, into the province of Armenia, then they worshipped that land, as if it had been the first land they had seen after a long and dangerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy haven: and the tears ran down their cheeks, and every man embraced each other for the great joy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitful country so plentiful of all things, after so great a famine and want of all things, they so crammed themselves with such plenty of victuals, that many of them were cast into fluxes and dropsies. There Antonius, mustering his whole army, found that he had lost 20,000 footmen, and 4000 horsemen, which had not all been slain by their enemies: for the most part of them died of sickness, making seven and twenty days' journey coming from the city of Phraata into Armenia, and having overcome the Parthians in eighteen several battles. But these victories were not thoroughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of Armenia had kept Antonius from ending this war. For if the sixteen thousand horsemen which he brought with him out of Media had been at these battles (considering that they were armed and apparelled much after the Parthian manner, and acquainted also with their fight, when the Romans had put them to flight that had fought a battle with them, and that these Armenians had followed the chase of them that fled) they had not gathered themselves again in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often after they had been so many times overthrown. Therefore all those that were of any credit and countenance in the army did persuade and egg¹ Antonius to be revenged of this Armenian king: but Antonius, wisely dissembling his anger, he told him not of his treachery, nor gave him the worse countenance², nor did him less honour than he did before: because he knew his army was weak, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned again into Armenia with a great army, and so with fair words and sweet promises of messengers, he allured Artabazus to come to him: whom he then kept prisoner, and led in triumph in the city of Alexandria. This greatly offended the Romans, and made them much to dislike³ it, when they saw that for Cleopatra's sake he deprived his country of her due

honour and glory, only to gratify the Egyptians. But this was a pretty while after.

27. Howbeit then, the great haste he made to return unto Cleopatra caused him to put his men to so great pains, forcing them to lie in the field all winter long when it snowed¹ unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his men, and so came down to the sea-side with a small company, unto a certain place called Blancbourg: which standeth betwixt the cities of Berytus and Sidon, and there tarried for Cleopatra. And because she tarried longer than he would have had her, he pined away for love and sorrow: so that he was at such a straight², that he wist not what to do, and therefore, to wear it out, he gave himself to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast was ended: but many times, while others banqueted, he ran to the sea-side to see if she were coming. At length she came, and brought with her a world of apparel and money to give unto the soldiers. But some say notwithstanding that she brought apparel and no money, and that she took of Antonius' money, and caused it to be given amongst the soldiers in her own name, as if she had given it them.

28. In the meantime it chanced that the king of the Medes and Phraortes, king of the Parthians, fell at great wars together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoils of the Romans: and grew to be so hot between them that the king of Medes was no less afraid than also in danger to lose his whole realm. Thereupon he sent unto Antonius, to pray him to come and make war with the Parthians, promising him that he would aid him to his uttermost power. This put Antonius again in good comfort, considering that, unlooked for, the only thing he lacked (which made him he could not overcome the Parthians, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offered him in that sort, that it did him more pleasure to accept it than it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had spoken with the king of Medes at the river of Araxes, he prepared himself once more to go through Armenia, and to make more cruel war with the Parthians than he had done before.

29. Now whilst Antonius was busy in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whom he had left at Rome, would needs take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Cæsar was willing to it, not for his respect at all (as most authors do report) as for

¹ snowed.

*Antonius
pined away
looking for
Cleopatra.
² strait.*

*Cleopatra
came to
Blancbourg
unto An-
tonius.*

*Wars be-
twixt the
Parthians
and Medes*

³ sake.

¹ honourable.
² pretext.

*Octavia,
 Antonius'
 wife, came
 to Athens
 to meet
 with him.
³ desiring.
⁴ tell.*

⁵ frequently.

*The flicker-
 ing entice-
 ments of
 Cleopatra
 unto Anto-
 nius.*

⁶ sweetheart.

that he might have an honest¹ colour² to make war with Antonius, if he did misuse her, and not esteem of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to Athens, she received letters from Antonius, willing³ her to stay there until his coming, and did advertise⁴ her of his journey and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knew it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of answer, she asked him whether he would have those things sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparel for soldiers, a great number of horse, sums of money and gifts, to bestow on his friends and captains he had about him: and besides all those, she had 2000 soldiers, chosen men, all well armed like unto the Prætor's bands. When Niger, one of Antonius' friends whom he had sent unto Athens, had brought these news from his wife Octavia, and withal did greatly praise her, as she was worthy and well deserved, Cleopatra, knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her virtue and honest behaviour (besides the great power of her brother Cæsar) she did add thereunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too strong for her, and in the end win him away: [she subtly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pining her body for lack of meat.] Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenance, that when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy. Straight again when he went from her, she fell a-weeping and blubbering, looking ruefully on the matter, and still⁵ found the means that Antonius should oftentimes find her weeping: and then when he came suddenly upon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, and turned her face away; as if she were unwilling that he should see her weep. All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readiness to go into Syria, to speak with the king of Medes. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatra's mind blamed Antonius, and told him that he was a hard-natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poor lady in such torment for his sake, whose life depended only upon him alone. "For Octavia," said they, "that was married unto him as it were of necessity, because her brother Cæsar's affairs so required it, hath the honour to be called Antonius' lawful spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being born a queen of so many thousands of men, is only named Antonius' leman⁶; and yet that she disdained not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and

live with him : but if he once leave her, that then it is impossible¹ she should live." To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought Antonius' effeminate mind that, fearing lest she would make herself away, he returned again unto Alexandria, and referred² the king of Medes to the next year following, although he received news that the Parthians at that time were at civil wars among themselves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he married his daughter, which was very young, unto one of the sons that Cleopatra had by him : and then returned, being fully bent to make war with Cæsar.

30. When Octavia was returned to Rome from Athens, Cæsar commanded her to go out of Antonius' house, and to dwell by herself, because he had abused³ her. Octavia answered him again, that she would not forsake her husband's house, and that if he had no other occasion to make war with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her : "For," said she, "it were too shameful a thing, that two so famous captains should bring in civil wars among the Romans, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousy betwixt one another." Now as she spake the word, so did she also perform the deed : for she kept still in Antonius' house, as if he had been there, and very honestly and honourably kept his children, not only those she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia. Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the commonwealth, she received them very courteously, and so used herself unto her brother, that she obtained the things she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband made every man hate him, when they saw he did so unkindly use so noble a lady : but the greatest cause of their malice unto him was for the division of lands he made among his children in the city of Alexandria. And, to confess a troth⁴, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the Romans. For he assembled all the people in the show-place, where young men do exercise themselves, and there, upon a high tribunal silvered, he set two chairs of gold, the one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chairs for his children ; then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria ; and at that time also Cæsarion

¹ impossible.

² put off.

*The occasion
of civil war
betwixt An-
tonius and
Cæsar.*

*The love
of Octavia
unto Anto-
nius her
husband,
and her
wise and
womanly
behaviour.
³ deceived.*

*Antonius
arrogantly
divideth di-
verse pro-
vinces unto
his children
by Cleopa-
tra.*

⁴ truth.

Cæsarian, the supposed son of Cæsar by Cleopatra. Alexander and Ptolemy, Antonius' sons by Cleopatra.

¹ conical.

Accusations betwixt Octavius Cæsar and Antonius.

² isle.

³ sic; for triumvir.

⁴ after a sort.

⁵ as for.

king of the same realms. This Cæsarian was supposed to be the son of Julius Cæsar, who had left Cleopatra great with child. Secondly, he called the sons he had by her the kings of kings, and gave Alexander for his portion Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the country; and unto Ptolemy for his portion Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And therewithal he brought out Alexander in a long gown after the fashion of the Medes with a high cop-tank¹ hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians do use to wear them: and Ptolemy apparelled in a cloak after the Macedonian manner, with slippers on his feet and a broad hat, with a royal band or diadem. Such was the apparel and old attire of the ancient kings and successors of Alexander the Great. So after his sons had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother, presently a company of Armenian soldiers, set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of Macedonians the other. Now for Cleopatra, she did not only wear at that time (but at all other times else when she came abroad) the apparel of the goddess Isis, and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new Isis.

31. Octavius Cæsar reporting all these things unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome, he thereby stirred up all the Romans against him. Antonius on the other side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest points of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that having spoiled Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, he did not give him his part of the ile². Secondly, that he did detain in his hands the ships he lent him to make that war. Thirdly, that having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate³ out of his part of the empire, and having deprived him of all honours, he retained for himself the lands and revenues thereof, which had been assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner⁴ divided all Italy amongst his own soldiers, and had left no part of it for his soldiers. Octavius Cæsar answered him again: that for⁵ Lepidus, he had indeed deposed him, and taken his part of the empire from him, because he did over cruelly use his authority. And secondly, for⁵ the conquests he had made by force of arms, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that, for⁵ his soldiers, they should seek for nothing in Italy, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which provinces they had

added to the empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their emperor and captain. Antonius hearing these news, being yet in Armenia, commanded Canidius to go presently to the sea-side with his sixteen legions he had: and he himself, with Cleopatra, went unto the city of Ephesus, and there gathered together his galleys and ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great ships of burthen: and of those, Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred and twenty thousand talents besides, and provision of victuals also to maintain all the whole army in this war. So Antonius, through the persuasion of Domitius, commanded Cleopatra to return again into Egypt, and there to understand¹ the success² of this war. But Cleopatra, fearing lest Antonius should again be made friends with Octavius Cæsar by the means of his wife Octavia, she so plied Canidius with money and filled his purse, that he became her spokesman unto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this war, who defrayed so great a charge³: neither that it was for his profit, because thereby the Egyptians would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederates that Cleopatra was inferior unto, either for wisdom or judgment, seeing that long before she had wisely governed so great a realm as Egypt; and besides that, she had been so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manage great affairs. These fair persuasions wan⁴ him: for it was predestinated that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cæsar's hands.

32. Thus, all their forces being joined together, they hoisted⁵ sail towards the ile⁶ of Samos, and there gave themselves to feasts and solace. For as all the kings, princes, and commonalties, people, and cities, from Syria unto the marrishes Mæotides⁷, and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent unto, to send and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could: even so all players, minstrels, tumblers, fools, and jesters, were commanded to assemble in the ile⁶ of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighs, and tears, only in this ile⁶ of Samos there was nothing for many days' space but singing and piping, and all the theatre full of these common players, minstrels, and singing-men. Besides all this, every city sent an ox thither to sacrifice, and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts. So that

Antonius came with eight hundred sail against Octavius Cæsar.

¹ observe.
² result.

³ expense.

⁴ won.

⁵ hoisted.
Antonius carrieth Cleopatra with him to the wars against Octavius Cæsar: and kept great feasting at the isle of Samos together.
⁶ isle.
⁷ marshes of Mæotis.

every man said, "What can they do more for joy of victory, if they win the battle, when they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the war?" When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these minstrels, and such kind of people, the city of Priene to keep them withal during this war. Then he went unto the city of Athens, and there gave himself again to see plays and pastimes, and to keep the theatres. Cleopatra, on the other side, being jealous of the honours which Octavia had received in this city, where indeed she was marvellously honoured and beloved of the Athenians; to win the people's goodwill also at Athens, she gave them great gifts: and they likewise gave her many great honours, and appointed certain ambassadors to carry the decree to her house, among the which Antonius was one, who (as a citizen of Athens) reported the matter unto her, and made an oration in the behalf of the city. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife Octavia out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all Antonius' children, saving the eldest of them he had by Fulvia, who was with his father: bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap¹, that had brought her to this, that she was accounted one of the chiefest causes of this civil war. The Romans did pity her, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seen Cleopatra: who neither excelled Octavia in beauty, nor yet in young years.

*Antonius
put his wife
Octavia out
of his house
at Rome.*

¹ fortune.

² astonished.

*Octavius
Cæsar
exacteth
grievous
payments of
the Romans.
³ assessed.
⁴ eighth.*

⁵ murmured.

33. Octavius Cæsar understanding the sudden and wonderful great preparation of Antonius, he was not a little astonished² at it (fearing he should be driven to fight that summer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of money did sore oppress the people. For all manner of men else were driven to pay the fourth part of their goods and revenue, but the libertines (to wit, those whose fathers or other predecessors had sometime been bondmen) were seised³ to pay the eighth⁴ part of all their goods at one payment. Hereupon there arose a wonderful exclamation and great uproar all Italy over, so that, amongst the greatest faults that ever Antonius committed, they blamed him most for that he delayed to give Cæsar battle. For he gave Cæsar leisure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great sum of money was demanded of them, they grudged⁵ at it, and grew to mutiny upon it: but when they had once paid it, they remembered it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius' chiefest friends, and that had been both of them

consuls) for the great injuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindered all they could that she should not come to this war, they went and yielded themselves unto Cæsar, and told him where the testament¹ was that Antonius had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The will was in the custody of the Vestal nuns: of whom Cæsar demanded it. They answered him, that they would not give it him: but if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon Cæsar went thither, and having read it first to himself, he noted certain places² worthy of reproach: so assembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon divers were marvellously offended, and thought it a strange matter that he, being alive, should be punished for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. Cæsar chiefly took hold of this that he ordained touching his burial: for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in funeral pomp through the midst³ of the market-place, and that it should be sent into Alexandria unto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among divers other faults wherewith Antonius was to be charged for Cleopatra's sake, Calvisius, one of Cæsar's friends, reproved him, because he had frankly given Cleopatra all the libraries of the royal city of Pergamum, in the which she had above two hundred thousand several books. Again also, that being on a time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the board and trod upon Cleopatra's foot, which was a sign given between them, of which they were agreed on. That he had also suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra their sovereign lady. That divers times, sitting in his tribunal and chair of state, giving audience to all kings and princes, he had received love-letters from Cleopatra, written in tables⁴ of onyx or crystal; and that he had read them sitting in his imperial seat. That one day when Furnius, a man of great account, and the eloquentest man of all the Romans, pleaded a matter before him, Cleopatra by chance coming through the market-place in her litter where Furnius was a-pleading, Antonius straight rose out of his seat, and left his audience to follow her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Calvisius devised the most part of all these accusations of his own head. Nevertheless they that loved Antonius were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one Geminus unto Antonius, to pray him he would take heed that through his negligence his empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people

¹ will.

Titius and Planchus revolt from Antonius, and do yield to Cæsar.
² passages.

³ midst.

A famous library the city of Pergamum.

⁴ tablets.

Furnius, an eloquent orator among the Romans.

Geminus sent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heed to himself.

¹ waiting for.
² opportunity.

*Many of
Antoni-
us' friends
forsook him.*

³ whereas.

*Antoni-
us' em-
pire
taken from
him.*

⁴ curled,
crisped.

*Signs and
wonders be-
fore the
civil wars
betwixt*

of Rome. This Gemini-
us, being arrived in Greece, made Cleopatra
jealous straight of his coming, because she surmised that he
came not but to speak for Octavia. Therefore she spared not
to taunt him all supper-time; and moreover, to spite him the
more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the board: the which
he took patiently, expecting¹ occasion² to speak with Antonius.
Now Antonius commanding him at the table to tell him what
wind brought him thither, he answered, 'That it was no table-
talk, and that he would tell him to-morrow morning fasting: but
drunk or fasting, howsoever it were, he was sure of one thing,
that all would not go well on his side, unless Cleopatra were
sent back into Egypt.' Antonius took these words in very ill
part. Cleopatra on the other side answered him, "Thou doest
well, Gemini-
us," said she, "to tell the truth before thou be com-
pelled by torments:" but within few days after, Gemini-
us stole away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also, to please Cleopatra,
did make her drive many other of Antonius' faithful servants
and friends from him, who could not abide the injuries done
unto them: among the which these two were chief, Marcus
Syllanus, and Delli-
us the historiographer, who wrote that he fled
because her physician Glaucus told him that Cleopatra had set
some secretly to kill him. Furthermore, he had Cleopatra's dis-
pleasure, because he said one night at supper, that they made
them drink sour wine, where³ Sarmentus at Rome drank good
wine of Falerna. This Sarmentus was a pleasant young boy,
such as the lords of Rome are wont to have about them to make
them pastime, which they call their joys, and he was Octavius
Cæsar's boy. Now after that Cæsar had made sufficient prepa-
ration, he proclaimed open war against Cleopatra, and made the
people to abolish the power and empire of Antonius, because he
had before given it up unto a woman. And Cæsar said further-
more, that Antonius was not master of himself, but that Cleopatra
had brought him beside himself by her charms and amorous
poisons: and that they, that should make war with them, should
be Mardian the eunuch, Photinus, and Iras (a woman of
Cleopatra's bed-chamber, that frizzled⁴ her hair, and dressed her
head) and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the
affairs of Antonius' empire.

34. Before this war, as it is reported, many signs and wonders
fell out. First of all, the city of Pisaurum, which was made a
colony to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius,
standing upon the shore-side of the sea Adriatic, was by a ter-

rible earthquake sunk into the ground. One of the images of stone, which was set up in the honour of Antonius in the city of Alba, did sweat many days together: and though some wiped it away, yet it left¹ not sweating still. In the city of Patras, whilst Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the city of Athens also, in a place where the war of the giants against the gods is set out in imagery², the statue of Bacchus with a terrible wind was thrown down in the theatre. It was said that Antonius came of the race of Hercules (as you have heard before), and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus, and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering storm of wind overthrew the great monstrous images at Athens that were made in the honour of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named and intitled³ 'the Antonians': and yet did they hurt none of the other images, which were many besides. The admiral-galley of Cleopatra was called *Antoniad*, in the which there chanced a marvellous ill sign: swallows had bred under the poop of her ship, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked down their nests.

35. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew near to fight, it was found, that Antonius had no less than 500 good ships of war, among which there were many galleys that had eight and ten banks of oars, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meet for fight as for triumph: an hundred thousand footmen, and 12,000 horsemen; and had with him to aid him these kings and subjects following: Bocchus king of Lybia, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates king of Comagena, and Adallas king of Thracia. All which were there, every man in person. The residue that were absent, sent their armies: as Polemon king of Pont, Manchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Jewry⁴; and furthermore Amyntas king of Lycaonia and of the Galatians: and besides all these, he had all the aid the king of Medes sent unto him. Now for Cæsar, he had 250 ships of war, 80,000 footmen, and well near as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part had all under his dominion from Armenia and the river of Euphrates, unto the sea Ionium and Illyricum. Octavius Cæsar had also, for his part, all that which was in our hemisphere or half-part of the world, from Illyria unto the ocean sea upon the west: then all from the ocean unto *mare Siculum*: and from Africa, all

Antonius and Octavius Cæsar. Pesaro, a city in Italy, sunk into the ground by an earthquake.
¹ ceased.
² sculpture.

³ entitled.
An ill sign, foreshewed by swallows breeding in Cleopatra's ship.

Antonius' power against Octavius Cæsar.

Antonius had eight kings, and their power to aid him.

⁴ Judæa.

The army and power of Octavius Cæsar against Antonius. Antonius' dominions. Octavius Cæsar's dominions.

*Antonius
too much
ruled by
Cleopatra.*

¹ sailors.

² impress.

³ scarcely.

⁴ show.
⁵ manage-
ment.

⁶ desire.

*Antonius
rode at an-
chor at the
head of
Actium:
where the
city of Nico-
polis stand-
eth.*

** The grace
of this taunt
cannot pro-
perly be ex-
pressed in
any other
tongue be-
cause of the
equivocation
of this word
Toryne,
which signi-
fieth a city
of Albania,
and also a
ladle to scum
the pot with:
as if she
meant, Cæ-
sar sat by
the fire-side
scumming
of the pot.*

⁷ knew.

⁸ lifted.

⁹ sky.

that which is against Italy, as Gaul and Spain. Furthermore, all, from the province of Cyrenia to Ethiopia, was subject unto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subject to a woman's will, that though he was a great deal the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatra's sake he would needs have this battle tried by sea: though he saw before his eyes, that for lack of water-men¹ his captains did prest² by force all sorts of men out of Greece that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muleteers, reapers, harvest-men, and young boys; and yet could they not sufficiently furnish his galleys: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant³ row, because they lacked water-men¹ enough. But on the contrary side, Cæsar's ships were not built for pomp, high and great, only for a sight and bravery⁴, but they were light of yarage⁵, armed and furnished with water-men as many as they needed, and had them all in readiness in the havens of Tarentum and Brundisium. So Octavius Cæsar sent unto Antonius, to will⁶ him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy: and that for his own part he would give him safe harbour to land without any trouble; and that he would withdraw his army from the sea, as far as one horse could run, until he had put his army ashore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word again and challenged the combat of him, man for man, though he were the elder; and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battle with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Julius Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Now whilst Antonius rode at anchor, lying idly in harbour at the head of Actium, in the place where the city of Nicopolis standeth at this present, Cæsar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Toryne, before Antonius understood⁷ that he had taken ship. Then began his men to be afraid, because his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it, "And what danger, I pray you," said she, "if Cæsar keep at Toryne*?" The next morning by break of day, his enemies coming with full force of oars in battle against him, Antonius was afraid that if they came to join, they would take and carry away his ships that had no men of war in them. So he armed all his water-men, and set them in order of battle upon the forecastle of their ships, and then lift⁸ up all his ranks of oars towards the element⁹, as well on the one side as on the other, with the prows against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulf which beginneth at the point of Actium: and

so kept them in order of battle, as if they had been armed and furnished with water-men and soldiers. Thus Octavius Cæsar, being finely deceived by this stratagem, retired presently, and therewithal Antonius very wisely and suddenly did cut him off from fresh water. For, understanding that the places where Octavius Cæsar landed had very little store of water, and yet very bad, he shut them in with strong ditches and trenches he cast, to keep them from sailing out at their pleasure, and so to go seek water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatra's mind. For he being sick of an ague when he went and took a little boat to go unto Cæsar's camp, Antonius was very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his carriage¹, train, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, died immediately after. There were certain kings also that forsook him, and turned on Cæsar's side, as Amyntas and Deiotarus. Furthermore, his fleet and navy that was unfortunate in all things, and unready for service, compelled him to change his mind, and to hazard battle by land. And Canidius also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius' determination, he turned him clean contrary, and counselled him to send Cleopatra back again, and himself to retire into Macedon, to fight there on the main land. And furthermore told him, that Dicomus king of the Getes promised to aid him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonour to him to let Cæsar have the sea, because himself and his men both had been well practised and exercised in battles by sea, in the war of Sicilia against Sextus Pompeius: but rather that he should do against all reason (he having so great skill and experience of battles by land as he had), if he should not employ the force and valiantness of so many lusty armed footmen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by dividing them into ships. But now, notwithstanding all these good persuasions, Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battle by sea: considering with herself how she might fly and provide for her safety, not to help him to win the victory, but to fly more easily after the battle lost. Betwixt Antonius' camp and his fleet of ships, there was a great high point of firm land that ran a good way into the sea, the which Antonius used often for a walk, without mistrust of fear or danger. One of Cæsar's men perceived it, and told his master that he would laugh if they could take up Antonius in

*Domitius
forsaketh
Antonius,
and goeth
unto Octa-
vius Cæsar.
1 baggage.
Amyntas
and Deiotar-
us do both
revolt from
Antonius
and go unto
Cæsar.*

¹ midst.*Antonius in danger of taking at Actium.*² appeared.
³ with great difficulty.⁴ are used.*Antonius regardeth not the good counsel of his soldiers.*⁵ put.⁶ excuse.⁷ fifth.*Battle by sea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.*⁸ as for.⁹ array.

the midst¹ of his walk. Thereupon Cæsar sent some of his men to lie in ambush for him, and they missed not much of taking him (for they took him that came before him) because they discovered² too soon, and so Antonius scaped very hardly³. So when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other ships on fire but three score ships of Egypt, and reserved only the best and greatest galleys, from three banks unto ten banks of oars. Into them he put two and twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now as he was setting his men in order of battle, there was a captain, a valiant man, that had served Antonius in many battles and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who, as Antonius passed by him, cried out unto him, and said: "O noble emperor, how cometh it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle ships? What, do you mistrust these wounds of mine, and this sword? Let the Egyptians and Phœnicians fight by sea, and set us on the main land, where we use⁴ to conquer or to be slain on our feet." Antonius passed by him and said never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himself. For when the masters of the galleys and pilots would have let their sails alone, he made them clap⁵ them on; saying, to colour⁶ the matter withal, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day and the three days following, the sea rose so high and was so boisterous, that the battle was put off. The fift⁷ day the storm ceased, and the sea calmed again, and then they rowed with force of oars in battle one against the other: Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Cælius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius the midst. Octavius Cæsar, on the other side, had placed Agrippa in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himself. For⁸ the armies by land, Canidius was general of Antonius' side, and Taurus of Cæsar's side: who kept their men in battle ray⁹, the one before the other, upon the sea-side, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the chieftains: Antonius, being in a swift pinnace, was carried up and down by force of oars through his army, and spake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on main land, because of the steadiness and heaviness of their ships: and commanded the pilots and masters of the galleys, that they should not stir, none otherwise than if they were at anchor, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and

that they should not go out of the streight¹ of the gulf. Cæsar betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to see his ships throughout, met a man by chance that drove an ass before him: Cæsar asked the man what his name was. The poor man told him that his name was Eutyclus, to say², *Fortunate*: and his ass's name Nicon, to say, *Conqueror*. Therefore Cæsar, after he had won the battle, setting out the market-place with the spurs of the galleys he had taken, for a sign of his victory, he caused also the man and his ass to be set up in brass. When he had visited the order of his army throughout, he took a little pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he saw his enemies lie still in the streight³, and stirred not. For discerning them afar off, men would have thought they had been ships riding at anchor: and a good while he was so persuaded. So he kept his galleys eight furlongs from his enemies. About noon there arose a little gale of wind from the sea, and then Antonius' men, waxing angry with tarrying so long, and trusting to the greatness and height of their ships, as if they had been invincible, they began to march forward with their left wing. Cæsar, seeing that, was a glad man, and began a little to give back from the right wing, to allure them to come farther out of the streight³ and gulf, to the end that he might with his light ships, well manned with watermen, turn and environ the galleys of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarge⁴, both for their bigness, as also for lack of water-men to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to join, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by sea. For on the other side Antonius' ships, for their heaviness, could not have the strength and swiftness to make their blows of any force: and Cæsar's ships on the other side took great heed not to rush and shock with the forecastles of Antonius' ships, whose prows were armed with great brazen spurs. Furthermore they durst not flank them, because their points were easily broken, which way soever they came to set upon his ships, that were made of great main square pieces of timber, bound together with great iron pins: so that the battle was much like unto a battle by land, or to speak more properly, to the assault of a city. For there were always three or four of Cæsar's ships about one of Antonius' ships, and the soldiers fought with their pikes, halberds⁵ and darts, and threw halberds and darts with fire. Antonius' ships on the other side bestowed among them,

¹ straits, channel.
A lucky sign unto Octavius Cæsar.
Eutyclus Nicon, fortunate conqueror.
² that is to say.

³ strait, channel.

⁴ management.

⁵ halberds.

¹ luff.*Cleopatra
flieth.*² hoisting.³ midst.*The soul
of a lover
liveth in
another
body.**Antoni-
us
flieth after
Cleopatra.*⁴ embarked.⁵ lifted.⁶ soon.

with their crossbows and engines of battery, great store of shot from their high towers of wood that were set upon their ships. Now Publicola seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Cæsar's army, to compass in Antonius' ships that fought, he was driven also to loof¹ off to have more room, and to go a little at one side, to put those farther off that were afraid, and in the midst of the battle; for they were sore distressed by Arruntius.

36. Howbeit the battle was yet of even hand, and the victory doubtful, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they saw the threescore ships of Cleopatra busily about their yard-masts, and hoising² sail to fly. So they fled through the midst³ of them that were in fight, for they had been placed behind the great ships, and did marvellously disorder the other ships. For the enemies themselves wondered much to see them sail in that sort, with full sail towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius shewed plainly, that he had not only lost the courage and heart of an emperor, but also of a valiant man; and that he was not his own man (proving that true which an old man spake in mirth, that the soul of a lover lived in another body, and not in his own); he was so carried away with the vain love of this woman, as if he had been glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw Cleopatra's ship under sail, he forgot, forsook, and betrayed them that fought for him, and embarked⁴ upon a galley with five banks of oars, to follow her that had already begun to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew his galley afar off, she lift⁵ up a sign in the poop of her ship; and so Antonius, coming to it, was plucked up where Cleopatra was: howbeit he saw her not at his first coming, nor she him, but went and sat down alone in the prow of his ship, and said never a word, clapping his head between both his hands. In the meantime came certain light brigantines of Cæsar's, that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prow of his ship, and presently⁶ put the rest to flight, saving one Eurycles a Lacedæmonian, that followed him near, and pressed upon him with great courage, shaking a dart in his hand over the prow, as though he would have thrown it unto Antonius. Antonius seeing him, came to the forecastle of his ship, and asked him what he was that durst follow Antonius so near? "I am," answered he, "Eurycles the son of Lachares, who through Cæsar's good fortune seeketh to revenge the death of my father." This Lachares was condemned of felony, and

beheaded by Antonius. But yet Eurycles durst not venture upon Antonius' ship, but set upon the other admiral galley (for there were two), and fell upon him with such a blow of his brazen spur that was so heavy and big, that he turned her round, and took her, with another that was laden¹ with very rich stuff and carriage². After Eurycles had left Antonius, he turned again to his place, and sat down, speaking never a word, as he did before: and so lived three days alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of Tænarus, there Cleopatra's women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speak together, and afterwards to sup and lie together. Then began there again a great number of merchants' ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow, who brought news, that his army by sea was overthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent unto Canidius, to return with his army into Asia by Macedon. Now for himself, he determined to cross over into Africa, and took one of his carecks³ or hulks laden⁴ with gold and silver, and other rich carriage⁵, and gave it unto his friends, commanding them to depart, and seek to save themselves. They answered him weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very courteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart; and wrote unto Theophilus, governor of Corinth, that he would see them safe, and help to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with Cæsar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his enfranchised bondmen that revolted from him, and yielded unto Cæsar, and afterwards went and dwelt at Corinth. And thus it stood with Antonius. Now for⁶ his army by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium, they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more than a great boisterous wind that rose full in the prows of their ships; and yet with much ado his navy was at length overthrown, five hours within night⁷. There were not slain above five thousand men: but yet there were three hundred ships taken, as Octavius Cæsar writeth himself in his Commentaries. Many plainly saw Antonius fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he, that had nineteen legions whole by land, and twelve thousand horsemen upon the sea-side, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly, as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and

¹ laden.² baggage.

*Antonius
licenceth his
friends to
depart, and
giveth them
a ship laden
with gold
and silver.*

³ ships of

burden.

⁴ laden.⁵ stores.⁶ as for.

*Antonius'
navy over-
thrown by
Cæsar.
7 after night-
fall.*

Antonius' legions do yield themselves unto Octavius Cæsar.

¹ wholly.
² horses.
³ burden.

⁴ isle.

Lucilius spoken of in Brutus' life.
⁵ Philippi.

The fidelity of Lucilius unto Antonius.

the other fortune, and that he had not been thoroughly acquainted with the diverse changes and fortunes of battles. And yet his soldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some means or other unto them. Furthermore, they shewed themselves so valiant and faithful unto him, that after they certainly knew he was fled, they kept themselves whole together seven days.

37. In the end Canidius, Antonius' lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his camp, when they saw themselves thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yielded themselves unto the stronger. This done, Cæsar sailed towards Athens, and there made peace with the Grecians, and divided the rest of the corn that was taken up for Antonius' army, unto the towns and cities of Greece, the which had been brought to extreme misery and poverty, clean¹ without money, slaves, horse², and other beasts of carriage³. So that my grandfather Nicarchus told that all the citizens of our city of Chæronea (not one excepted) were driven themselves to carry a certain measure of corn on their shoulders to the sea-side, that lieth directly over against the ile⁴ of Anticyra, and yet were they driven thither with whips. They carried it thus but once: for the second time that they were charged again to make the like carriage, all the corn being ready to be carried, news came that Antonius had lost the battle, and so scaped our poor city. For Antonius' soldiers and deputies fled immediately, and the citizens divided the corn amongst them. Antonius being arrived in Lybia, he sent Cleopatra before into Egypt from the city of Parætonium; and he himself remained very solitary, having only two of his friends with him, with whom he wandered up and down, both of them orators, the one Aristocrates a Grecian, and the other Lucilius a Roman: of whom we have written in another place, that, at the battle where Brutus was overthrown by the city of Philippes⁵, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he: because Brutus in the meantime might have liberty to save himself. And afterwards, because Antonius saved his life, he still remained with him, and was very faithful and friendly unto him till his death. But when Antonius heard that he whom he had trusted with the government of Lybia, and unto whom he had given the charge of his army there, had yielded unto Cæsar, he was so mad withal, that he would have slain himself for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, and kept

him from it. So he went unto Alexandria, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderful enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the Red Sea and the sea between the lands that point upon the coast of Egypt, there is a little piece of land that divideth both the seas, and separateth Africk from Asia: the which streight¹ is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not above three hundred furlongs over. Cleopatra went about² to lift her ships out of the one sea, and to hale them over the bank into the other sea: that when her ships were come into the gulf of Arabia, she might then carry all her gold and silver away, and so with a great company of men go and dwell in some place about the Ocean Sea, far from the sea *Mediterraneum*, to escape the danger and bondage of this war. But now, because the Arabians dwelling about the city of Petra, did burn the first ships that were brought to land, and that Antonius thought that his army by land which he left at Actium was yet whole, she left off her enterprise, and determined to keep³ all the ports and passages of her realm.

38. Antonius, he forsook the city and company of his friends, and built him a house in the sea by the ile⁴ of Pharos, upon certain forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there as a man that banished himself from all men's company: saying that he would lead Timon's life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered unto Timon: and that for the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto, and whom he took to be his friends, he was angry with all men and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of Athens, that lived about the war of Peloponnesus, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes' comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man unto mankind, to shun all other men's companies but the company of young Alcibiades, a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what⁵ he meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Timon answered him, "I do it," said he, "because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the Athenians." This Timon sometimes would have Apemantus in his company, because he was much like of his nature and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feast called *Choæ* at Athens (to wit, the feasts of the dead where they make sprinklings and

¹ isthmus.*The wonderful attempt of Cleopatra. endeavour-ed.*³ guard.⁴ isle.*Antonius followeth the life and example of Timon Misanthropos the Athenian. Plato and Aristophanes' testimony of Timon Misanthropos, what he was.*⁵ why.

¹ are wont.² in despair.

*The epitaph
of Timon
Misanthro-
pos.*

³ journey.⁴ informed.

⁵ Jewry,
Judæa.

*Antoni-
us
rioting in
Alexandria
after his
great loss
and over-
throw.*
⁶ forego,

sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apemantus said unto the other: "O, here is a trim banquet, Timon!" Timon answered again: "Yea," said he, "so thou wert not here." It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being assembled in the market-place about dispatch of some affairs) got up into the pulpit for orations, where the orators commonly use¹ to speak unto the people: and silence being made, every man listening to hear what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place, at length he began to speak in this manner: "My lords of Athens, I have a little yard at my house where there groweth a fig-tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves: and because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that, before the fig-tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate², you may there in time go hang yourselves." He died in the city of Hales, and was buried upon the sea-side. Now it chanced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tomb round about, that no man could come to it: and upon the same was written this epitaph:

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft:

Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left!

It is reported that Timon himself, when he lived, made this epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the poet Callimachus:

Here lie I, Timon, who alive all living men did hate:

Pass by and curse thy fill: but pass, and stay not here thy gate³.

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this little shall suffice at this present.

39. But now to return to Antonius again. Canidius himself came to bring him news, that he had lost all his army by land at Actium: on the other side he was advertised⁴ also, that Herodes king of Jurie⁵, who had also certain legions and bands with him, was revolted unto Caesar, and all the other kings in like manner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him: and it seemed that he was contented to forgo⁶ all his hope, and so to be rid of all his cares and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitary house he had built by the sea, which he called *Timoneon*, and Cleopatra received him into her royal palace. He was no sooner come thither, but he straight set all the city on rioting and banqueting again, and himself to liberality and

gifts. He caused the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra to be enrolled (according to the manner of the Romans) amongst the number of young men: and gave Antyllus, his eldest son he had by Fulviâ, the man's gown, the which was a plain gown without gard¹ or embroderie², of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banqueting and dancing in Alexandria many days together. Indeed they did break their first order they had set down, which they called *Animetobion* (as much to say, 'no life comparable'), and did set up another, which they called *Synapothanumenon* (signifying the order and agreement of those that will die together), the which in exceeding sumptuousness and cost was not inferior to the first. For their friends made themselves to be enrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great feasts one to another: for every man, when it came to his turn, feasted their whole company and fraternity. Cleopatra in the meantime was very careful³ in gathering all sorts of poisons together, to destroy men. Now to make proof of those poisons which made men die with least pain, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poisons that were sudden and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments; and in contrary manner, that such as were more mild and gentle had not that quick speed and force to make one die suddenly: she afterwards went about to prove⁴ the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in her sight, some in one sort, some in another. So when she had daily made divers and sundry proofs, she found none of them all she had proved so fit as the biting of an aspick⁵, the which causeth only a heaviness of the head, without swooning or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleep, with a little sweat in the face; and so by little and little taketh away the senses and vital powers, no living creature perceiving that the patients feel any pain. For they are so sorry when any body awaketh them and taketh them up, as those that be taken out of a sound sleep are very heavy and desirous to sleep.

40. This notwithstanding, they sent ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realm of Egypt for their children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at Athens like a private man, if Cæsar would not let him remain in Egypt. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and those that remained they did not greatly trust, they were enforced to

Toga virilis.
Antyllus the eldest son of Antonius, by his wife Fulvia.
¹ edging.
² embroidery.
An order erected by Antonius and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon, revoking the former called Animetobion.

Cleopatra very busy in proving the force of poison.
³ industrious.

⁴ test.

The property of the biting of an aspick.
⁵ asp.

Antonius and Cleopatra send ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar.

¹ Jewry,
Judæa.

*Alexas'
treason just-
ly punished.*

² soundly.

³ displease.

⁴ whereas.

send Euphronius, the schoolmaster of their children. For Alexas Laodicean, who was brought into Antonius' house and favour by means of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him than any other Grecian (for that he had ever been one of Cleopatra's ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well): him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Jurie¹, hoping still to keep him his friend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he persuaded him to turn to Cæsar: and trusting king Herodes, he presumed to come in Cæsar's presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure, for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chains to his own country, and there by Cæsar's commandment put to death. Thus was Alexas, in Antonius' life-time, put to death for betraying of him. Furthermore, Cæsar would not grant unto Antonius' requests: but for Cleopatra, he made her answer, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her country. Therewithal he sent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a very wise and discreet man: who bringing letters of credit from a young lord unto a noble lady, and that besides greatly liked her beauty, might easily by his eloquence have persuaded her. He was longer in talk with her than any man else was, and the queen herself also did him great honour: insomuch as he made Antonius jealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well-favouredly² whipped, and so sent him unto Cæsar: and bad him tell him, that he made him angry with him, because he shewed himself proud and disdainful towards him; and now specially, when he was easy to be angered, by reason of his present misery. "To be short, if this mislike³ thee," said he, "thou hast Hipparchus, one of my enfranchised bondmen, with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whip him at thy pleasure, that we may cry quittance." From henceforth Cleopatra, to clear herself of the suspicion he had of her, made more of him than ever she did. For first of all, where⁴ she did solemnize the day of her birth very meanly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune, she now in contrary manner did keep it with such solemnity, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousness and magnificence: so that the guests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poor, went away rich. Now things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after another unto Cæsar,

prayed him to return to Rome, because the affairs there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did defer the war till the next year following: but when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africa, to make wars against Antonius and his other captains. When the city of Pelusium was taken, there ran a rumour in the city, that Seleucus (by Cleopatra's consent) had surrendered the same. But to clear herself that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus' wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombs and monuments, as well for excellency of workmanship, as for height and greatness of building, joining¹ hard to the temple of Isis. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and precious things she had of the ancient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, and besides all that, a marvellous number of torches, faggots, and flax. So Octavius Cæsar, being afraid to lose such a treasure and mass of riches, and that this woman for spite would set it on fire and burn it every whit, he always sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meantime drew near the city with his army. So Cæsar came and pitched his camp hard by the city, in the place where they run and manage their horses. Antonius made a sally upon him, and fought very valiantly, so that he drave² Cæsar's horsemen back, fighting with his men even into their camp. Then he came again to the palace, greatly boasting of this victory, and sweetly kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of arms unto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra, to reward his manliness, gave him an armour and head-piece of clean³ gold: howbeit the man-at-arms, when he had received this rich gift, stole away by night and went to Cæsar. Antonius sent again to challenge Cæsar to fight with him hand to hand. Cæsar answered him, "That he had many other ways to die than so." Then Antonius, seeing there was no way more honourable for him to die than fighting valiantly, he determined to set up his rest⁴, both by sea and land. So being at supper (as it is reported) he commanded his officers and household servants that waited on him at his board, that they should fill his cups full, and make as much of him as they could: "For," said he, "you know not whether you shall do so much for me to-morrow or not, or whether you shall serve another master: and

Pelusium was yielded up to Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatra's monuments set up by the temple of Isis.
¹ adjoining.

² drove.

³ pure.

⁴ make a stand.

¹ heal.

*Strange
noises heard,
and nothing
seen.*

² troop.

*Antoni-
us'
navy do
yield them-
selves unto
Cæsar.
Antoni-
us
overthrown
by Octavius
Cæsar.
Cleopatra
fleeeth into
her tomb or
monument.*

³ since.

^{*} without
arms.

it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead body." This notwithstanding, perceiving that his friends and men fell a-weeping to hear him say so, to salve¹ that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, 'that he would not lead them to battle, where he thought not rather safely to return with victory, than valiantly to die with honour.' Furthermore, the selfsame night, within a little of midnight, when all the city was quiet, full of fear and sorrow, thinking what would be the issue and end of this war, it is said that suddenly they heard a marvellous sweet harmony of sundry sorts of instruments of music, with the cry of a multitude of people, as they had been dancing, and had sung as they use in Bacchus' feasts, with movings and turnings after the manner of the Satyrs: and it seemed, that this dance went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe², that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeit and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by break of day, he went to set those few footmen he had in order upon the hills adjoining unto the city: and there he stood to behold his galleys which departed from the haven, and rowed against the galleys of the enemies, and so stood still, looking what exploits his soldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come near unto them, they first saluted Cæsar's men; and then Cæsar's men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one: and then did all together row toward the city.

41. When Antonius saw that his men did forsake him, and yielded unto Cæsar, and that his footmen were broken and overthrown, he then fled into the city, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them with whom he had made war for her sake. Then she, being afraid of his fury, fled into the tomb which he had caused to be made, and there she locked the doors unto her, and shut all the springs of the locks with great bolts, and in the meantime sent unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead. Antonius believing it, said unto himself: "What doest thou look for further, Antonius, sith³ spiteful fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou hadst, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life?" When he had said these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed himself, and being naked⁴, said thus: "O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy

company, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry that, having been so great a captain and emperor, I am indeed condemned to be judged of less courage and noble mind than a woman." Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to swear unto him, that he should kill him when he did command him: and then he willed him to keep his promise. His man, drawing his sword, lift¹ it up as though he had meant to have stricken his master: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into himself, and fell down dead at his master's foot. Then said Antonius: "O noble Eros, I thank thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to myself, which thou couldest not do for me." Therewithal he took his sword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell down upon a little bed. The wound he had killed him not presently², for the blood stinted³ a little when he was laid: and when he came somewhat to himself again, he prayed them that were about him to despatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out, tormenting himself: until at last there came a secretary unto him (called Diomedes) who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was alive, he very earnestly prayed his men to carry his body thither, and so he was carried in his men's arms into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windows, and cast out certain chains and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed⁴: and Cleopatra her own self, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, trised⁵ Antonius up. They that were present to behold it said they never saw so pitiful a sight. For they plucked up poor Antonius, all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death: who holding up his hands to Cleopatra, raised up himself as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but Cleopatra, stooping down with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much ado, and never let go her hold, with the help of the women beneath that bad her be of good courage, and were as sorry to see her labour so as she herself. So when she had gotten him in after that sort, and laid him on a bed, she rent her garments upon him, clapping⁶ her breast, and scratching her face and stomach. Then she dried up his blood that had bewrayed⁷ his face, and

¹ lifted.

Eros, Antonius' servant, slew himself.

Antonius did thrust his sword into himself, but died not presently.

² at once.
³ ceased.

Antonius carried unto Cleopatra's tomb.

⁴ wound.

⁵ drew.
A lamentable sight to see Antonius and Cleopatra.

⁶ beating.
⁷ beraved, disfigured.

called him her lord, her husband, and emperor, forgetting her own misery and calamity for the pity and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was athirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had drunk, he earnestly prayed her, and persuaded her, that she would seek to save her life, if she could possible, without reproach and dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius above any man else about Cæsar. And as for himself, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his days: but rather that she should think him the more fortunate, for the former triumphs and honours he had received; considering that while he lived, he was the noblest and greatest prince of the world; and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Roman by another Roman.

*The death
of Antonius.*

As Antonius gave the last gasp, Proculeius came that was sent from Cæsar. For after Antonius had thrust his sword in himself, as they carried him into the tombs and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his guard (called Dercetæus) took his sword with which he had stricken himself, and hid it: then he secretly stole away, and brought Octavius Cæsar the first news of his death, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied¹. Cæsar hearing this news, straight withdrew himself into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with tears, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had been his friend and brother-in-law, his equal in the empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battles. Then he called for all his friends and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his answers also sent him again, during their quarrel and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him.

¹ made
bloody.
*Octavius
Cæsar la-
menteth
Antonius'
death.*

*Proculeius
sent by
Octavius
Cæsar to
bring Cleo-
patra alive.*

42. After this, he sent Proculeius, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to Rome, she would marvellously beautify and set out his triumph. But Cleopatra would never put herself into Proculeius' hands, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were thick and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes² through the which her voice might be heard; and so they without understood³, that Cleopatra demanded the kingdom of Egypt for her sons: and that Pro-

² crannies.

³ learnt.

culeius answered her that she should be of good cheer, and not be afraid to refer all unto Cæsar. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer unto Cæsar: who immediately sent Gallus to speak once again with her, and bad him purposely hold her in talk, whilst Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high window by the which Antonius was trised¹ up, and came down into the monument with two of his men, hard by the gate where Cleopatra stood to hear what Gallus said unto her. One of her women which was shut up in her monuments with her, saw Proculeius by chance as he came down, and skreeked² out: "O poor Cleopatra, thou art taken." Then when she saw Proculeius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed herself in with a short dagger she wore of purpose by her side. But Proculeius came suddenly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her: "Cleopatra, first thou shalt do thyself great wrong, and secondly unto Cæsar, to deprive him of the occasion and opportunity openly to shew his bounty and mercy, and to give his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble prince that ever was, and to appeach³ him, as though he were a cruel and merciless man, that were not to be trusted." So even as he spake the word, he took her dagger from her, and shook her clothes for fear of any poison hidden about her. Afterwards, Cæsar sent one of his infranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly⁴ charged to look well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not herself away: and for the rest, to use her with all the courtesy possible. And for himself, he in the meantime entered the city of Alexandria, and (as he went) talked with the philosopher Arrius, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen should reverence him the more, because they saw Cæsar so highly esteem and honour him. Then he went into the show-place of exercises, and so up to his chair of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there, according to his commandment, all the people of Alexandria were assembled, who, quaking for fear, fell down on their knees before him and craved mercy. Cæsar bad them all stand up, and told them openly that he forgave the people, and pardoned the felonies⁵ and offences they had committed against him in this war: first, for the founder's sake of the same city, which was Alexander the Great: secondly, for the beauty of the city, which he much esteemed and wondered at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his very⁶ friend Arrius. Thus did Cæsar

¹ drawn.² shrieked.*Cleopatra taken.*³ impeach, accuse.⁴ strictly.*Cæsar took the city of Alexandria.**Cæsar greatly honoured Arrius the philosopher.*⁵ crimes.⁶ true.

*Philostratus
the eloquent-
est orator in
his time for
present
speech upon
a sudden.
1 sophists.*

honour Arrius, who craved pardon for himself and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters¹ and orators of his time, for present and sudden speech: howbeit, he falsely named himself an Academic philosopher. Therefore Cæsar, that hated his nature and conditions, would not hear his suit. Thereupon he let his grey beard grow long, and followed Arrius step by step in a long mourning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek verse:

A wise man, if that he be wise indeed,
May by a wise man have the better speed.

*Antyllus,
Antonius'
eldest son by
Fulvia,
slain.
2 struck.*

Cæsar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his fear, but to rid Arrius of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him, he pardoned him. Now touching Antonius' sons, Antyllus, his eldest son by Fulvia, was slain, because his schoolmaster Theodorus did betray him unto the soldiers, who strack² off his head. And the villain took a precious stone of great value from his neck, the which he did sew in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, and so Cæsar trussed him up³ for it. For Cleopatra's children, they were very honourably kept⁴, with their governors and train that waited on them. But for Cæsarion, who was said to be Julius Cæsar's son, his mother Cleopatra had sent him unto the Indians through Ethiopia, with a great sum of money. But one of his governors also, called Rhodon, even such another as Theodorus, persuaded him to return into his country, and told him that Cæsar sent for him to give him his mother's kingdom. So, as Cæsar was determining with himself what he should do, Arrius said unto him:

*The saving
of Arrius
the philoso-
pher.*

Too many Cæsars is not good,
alluding unto a certain verse of Homer, that saith:

Too many lords doth not well.

*Cæsarion,
Cleopatra's
son, put to
death.*

Therefore Cæsar did put Cæsarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra.

*Cleopatra
burieth An-
tonius.*

43. Many princes, great kings, and captains, did crave Antonius' body of Octavius Cæsar, to give him honourable burial: but Cæsar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally bury him with her own hands, whom Cæsar suffered to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funerals. Now was she altogether overcome with sorrow and passion of mind, for she had knocked her breast so pitifully, that she had martyred⁵ it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflamma-

⁵ injured.

tions, so that she fell into a fever withal; whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour¹ to abstain from meat, and that so she might have died easily without any trouble. She had a physician called Olympus, whom she made privy to her intent, to the end he should help to rid her out of her life: as Olympus writeth himself, who wrote a book of all these things. But Cæsar mistrusted² the matter by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in fear, and threatened her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, Cleopatra for fear yielded straight, as she would have yielded unto strokes: and afterwards suffered herself to be cured and dieted as they listed.

44. Shortly after, Cæsar came himself in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra, being laid upon a little low bed in poor estate (when she saw Cæsar come into her chamber), suddenly rose up, naked in her smock, and fell down at his feet marvellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her hair from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nails; and besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunk into her head with continual blubbing³; and moreover, they might see the most⁴ part of her stomach torn in sunder. To be short, her body was not much better than her mind: yet her good grace and comeliness and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ugly and pitiful state of hers, yet she shewed herself within, by her outward looks and countenance. When Cæsar had made her lie down again, and sat by her bedside, Cleopatra began to clear and excuse herself for that she had done, laying all to the fear she had of Antonius: Cæsar, in contrary manner, reproved her in every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were afraid to die, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a brief and memorial of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood one Seleucus by, one of her treasurers, who, to seem a good servant, came straight to Cæsar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in⁵ all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and took him by the hair of the head, and boxed⁶ him well-fayouredly⁷. Cæsar fell a-laughing and parted the fray. "Alas," said she, "O Cæsar: is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou having vouchsafed to take the pains to come unto me, and done me this honour, poor wretch

¹ pretext.

*Olympus,
Cleopatra's
physician.*

² suspected.

*Cæsar came
to see Cleo-
patra.*

*Cleopatra
a martyred
creature
through her
own passion
and fury.
³ crying.
⁴ greatest.*

*Seleucus,
one of Cleo-
patra's
treasurers.*

⁵ mentioned.
*Cleopatra
beat her
treasurer
before Octa-
vius Cæsar.
Cleopatra's
words unto
Cæsar.
⁶ beat.
⁷ soundly.*

¹ wretched.

*Cleopatra
finely de-
ceiveth Octa-
vius Cæsar,
as though
she desired
to live.*

² since.

*Cleopatra's
lamentation
over Anto-
nius' tomb.*

³ since.

and caitiff¹ creature, brought into this pitiful and miserable state: and that mine own servants should come now to accuse me? though it may be I have reserved some jewels and trifles meet for women, but not for me (poor soul) to set out myself withal, but meaning to give some pretty presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they, making means and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me." Cæsar was glad to hear her say so, persuading himself thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only give her that to dispose of at her pleasure which she had kept back, but further promised to use her more honourably and bountifully than she would think for: and so he took his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself. There was a young gentleman, Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cæsar's very great familiars, and besides did bear no ill will unto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly (as she had requested him) that Cæsar determined to take his journey through Syria, and that within three days he would send her away before with her children. When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Cæsar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead unto the soul of Antonius. This being granted her, she was carried to the place where his tomb was, and there falling down on her knees, embracing the tomb with her women, the tears running down her cheeks, she began to speak in this sort: "O my dear lord Antonius, it is not long sithence² I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer unto thee the funeral sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner; and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blows, which they carefully guard and keep only to triumph of thee: look therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me: for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, sith³ now they carry her away. Whilst we lived together, nothing could sever our companies: but now, at our death, I fear me they will make us change our countries. For as thou, being a Roman, hast been buried in Egypt: even so, wretched creature, I, an Egyptian, shall be buried in Italy, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authority, sith³ our gods here have forsaken us, suffer not thy true friend and lover to be carried away alive, that in

me they triumph of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one self¹ tomb with thee. For though my griefs and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could less bear withal, than this small time which I have been driven to live alone without thee."

45. Then having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tomb with garlands and sundry nosegays, and marvellous lovingly embraced the same, she commanded they should prepare her bath; and when she had bathed and washed herself, she fell to her meat, and was sumptuously served. Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a countryman and brought her a basket. The soldiers that ward² at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened his basket, and took out the leaves that covered the figs, and shewed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figs. The countryman laughed to hear them, and bade them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bade him carry them in. After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certain table³ written and sealed unto Cæsar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombs where she was, but the two women; then she shut the doors to her. Cæsar, when he had received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himself: howbeit, he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sudden: for those whom Cæsar sent unto her ran thither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting⁴ nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors, they found Cleopatra stark-dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet: and her other woman (called Charmion) half dead, and trembling, trimming the diadem which Cleopatra wore upon her head. One of the soldiers seeing her, angrily said unto her: "Is that well done, Charmion?" "Very well," said she again, "and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble kings:" she said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report that this asp⁵ was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leaves, that when she should think to take out the figs, the asp should bite her

¹ same.

² watched.

³ tablet, letter.

The death of Cleopatra.

⁴ suspecting.

Cleopatra's two waiting women dead with her.

⁵ asp.

*Cleopatra
killed with
the biting of
an aspick.*

¹ truth.

⁹ minute.
^a scarcely.

*The image
of Cleo-
patra, car-
ried in
triumph at
Rome with
an aspick
biting of her
arm.*

*The age of
Cleopatra
and Anto-
nius.*

*Of Ant-
onius' issue
came em-
perors.*

before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would have taken away the leaves for the figs, she perceived it, and said, "Art thou here, then?" And so, her arm being naked, she put it to the aspick to be bitten. Others say again, she kept it in a box, and that she did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the aspick, being angered withal, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arm. Howbeit few can tell the troth¹. For they report also, that she had hidden poison in a hollow razor which she carried in the hair of her head; and yet was there no mark seen on her body, or any sign discerned that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this serpent in her tomb: but it was reported only, that there was seen certain fresh steps or tracks where it had gone, on the tomb-side toward the sea, and specially by the door-side. Some say also that they found two little pretty² bitings in her arm, scant³ to be discerned: the which it seemeth Cæsar himself gave credit unto, because in his triumph he carried Cleopatra's image, with an aspick biting of her arm. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Cæsar, though he was marvellous sorry for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commanded she should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should have honourable burial.

46. Cleopatra died being eight and thirty years old, after she had reigned two and twenty years, and governed about fourteen of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three and fifty years: and others say, six and fifty. All his statues, images, and metals, were plucked down and overthrown, saving those of Cleopatra, which stood still in their places, by means of Archibius one of her friends, who gave Cæsar a thousand talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seven children by three wives, of the which Cæsar did put Antyllus (the eldest son he had by Fulvia) to death. Octavia his wife took all the rest, and brought them up with hers, and married Cleopatra, Antonius' daughter, unto king Juba, a marvellous courteous and goodly prince. And Antonius (the son of Fulvia) came to be so great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Cæsar, and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimation, he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a son also called Marcellus, Cæsar married his daughter

unto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his son. And Octavia also married one of her daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had been married a while, Octavia, perceiving that her brother Cæsar was very busy to choose some one among his friends, whom he trusted best, to make his son-in-law, she persuaded him that Agrippa should marry his daughter (Marcellus' widow), and leave her own daughter. Cæsar first was contented withal, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards took away her daughter and married her unto Antonius; and Agrippa married Julia, Cæsar's daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octavia and Antonius: Domitius Ænobarbus married the one; and the other, which was Antonia, so fair and virtuous a young lady, was married unto Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law of Cæsar. Of this marriage came Germanicus and Clodius¹: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be emperor. And of the sons of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius² came also to be emperor: who after he had licentiously reigned a time, was slain, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also (having a son by her first husband Ænobarbus, called Lucius Domitius) was afterwards married unto Clodius, who adopted her son, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was emperor in our time, who slew his own mother, and had almost destroyed the empire of Rome through his madness and wicked life, being the fifth emperor of Rome after Antonius.

¹ Claudius.² Caligula.

CHAPTER V.

THE LIFE OF OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.

ARGUMENT.

1. *Parentage of OCTAVIUS.* 2. *His habits and mode of life.* 3. OCTAVIUS, LEPIDUS, and ANTONIUS are jointly elected *Triumviri*.
4. *Numerous proscriptions; various behaviour of slaves and relatives towards the proscribed.* 5. OCTAVIUS drives LUCIUS ANTONIUS out of Rome.
6. *His lieutenant AGRIPPA overcomes SEXTUS POMPEIUS.* 7. *Fall of LEPIDUS, and death of SEXTUS POMPEIUS.*
8. *Battle of Actium, and successes of OCTAVIUS.* 9. *He establishes his power and system of government.* 10. *He repairs Rome, and acquires the name of AUGUSTUS.* 11. *He divides Gaul into four parts. Wars against the Cantabrians and Asturians.* 12. *Death of MARCELLUS, his nephew.* 13. *Acts of AUGUSTUS in Greece and Asia.* 14. *AGRIPPA appeases troubles in France and Spain.* 15. *AUGUSTUS reforms various abuses and disorders in Rome.* 16. *He founds some colonies in Gaul.* 17. *Death of LEPIDUS and rise of TIBERIUS and DRUSUS.* 18. *Death of DRUSUS.* 19. *AUGUSTUS pleads the cause of an old soldier, and makes laws against libel.* 20. *His toleration of libels spoken against himself. Birth of CHRIST, causing the pagan oracles to become dumb.* 21. *JULIA dies in banishment.* 22. *Defeat of the Thracians.* 23. *ARMINIUS defeats the legions of QUINTILIUS VARUS.* 24. *Last acts of AUGUSTUS. His peaceful death.* 25. *His will and funeral honours.*

Thy youth, Augustus, and thy tongue's good gift,
 Thy valour, wisdom, and thy worthy feats,
 Thy country's love, thy laws and statutes, lift
 Thy throne above all other princely seats.

The descent of Augustus.

1. ACCIA, the daughter of Accius Balbus and of Julia the sister of Julius Cæsar, was married unto the father of this man, whose life we write of now, and who was descended of the ancient race of the Octavians, issued out of the country of the Volscæ, and known at Rome from the time of Tarquinius, and of Servius Tullus. Their son Octavius was born in the year of the consulship of Cicero and of Caius Antonius, at that time when as¹ the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered and suppressed. He was called Thurinus : but afterwards, according to the tenor of his uncle's testament, who made him his heir, he was called Caius Julius Cæsar, and lastly Augustus, by the ad-

¹ when that, when.

vice of Munatius Plancus, and by the decree of the Senate. He was but four years old when his father died, and at twelve years he made the funeral oration for his grandmother Julia: four years after that, he became a gownman, though he were but young: yet his uncle gave him a present at his return out of Africa, such as the soldiers are accustomed to have of their captains. Shortly after he followed his uncle into Spain, whither he was gone against the children of Pompey, and passed through many great dangers to overtake him. This war being ended, because Cæsar undertook other longer journeys, Octavius was sent into the city of Apollonia: and there plied his book¹ very diligently. And it chanced him, without having any mind to it, that, being gone to see Theogenes a learned astronomer, he cast his nativity; and suddenly he leapt, being amazed, and honoured him. The which made Octavius conceive great hope of himself, and in memory of this good hap he caused certain pieces of money to be coined, and he himself told the opinion of Theogenes. Being returned from Apollonia to Rome, after his uncle was slain by Cassius, Brutus, and their allies, he declared himself to be his heir, though his mother and Marcius Philippus were of another mind. And having put himself forward, he governed the commonwealth of Rome, first with Antonius and Lepidus, afterwards with Antonius, the space of twelve years: and lastly himself alone, the space of four and forty years. But before we speak of his government of common affairs in time of peace and war, let us say somewhat (after Suetonius) of his family and his manners. He married being yet very young the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus: but having made peace with Antonius after the war of Mutine², and at the request of their armies, who were desirous to see them friends, he married with Clodia, the daughter of Publius Clodius and of Fulvia then wife of Antonius. But before he knew her, he sent her to her mother, with whom he was somewhat discontented, and because of the war of Perouse³. Immediately he married Scribonia, and kept not her long, because she was too troublesome: yet he had a daughter by her called Julia. But forsaking her, he took another which he loved unto the end: and that was Livia Drusilla, the wife of Tiberius Nero, whom he carried with him great with child as she was, and had no more children by her but one, and yet she went not out her time, and it had no life. His daughter Julia was married unto Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia: and after his death unto Marcus Agrippa, by whom she had

*Augustus
studied at
Apollonia.
¹ studied.*

*Augustus
declared
himself heir
to Julius
Cæsar.*

*Augustus
ruled alone
44 years.*

² Mutina.

³ Perusia.

*Augustus
forsaking
his wives
married
Livia,
whom he
loved to the
end.*

¹ Agrippina.

*Augustus
unfortunate
in his pos-
terity.*

² dishonour-
able.

*Augustus'
manners in
his private
life.*

³ in no way.

⁴ drunk.

three sons, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa: and two daughters, Julia and Agrippine¹. After the death of Marcus Agrippa, he chose for his son-in-law Tiberius, the son of Tiberius Nero and Livia Drusilla, at that time a knight of Rome, and compelled him to forsake his wife Vipsamia, of whom he had a son called Drusus. But as he was fortunate in managing the affairs of the commonwealth, so was he unfortunate in his race: for his daughter and his niece Julia committed so foul faults in Rome, that he was constrained to banish them. Agrippine¹ was married unto Germanicus, the son of his sister's daughter. Caius and Lucius died in less than a year and a half one after another: whereupon he adopted his nephew Agrippa, and his son-in-law Tiberius. But because Agrippa was of a churlish nature and dishonest², he did disinherit him, and confined him to Surrentum. His niece Julia had a child after she was banished, but he would not know it, nor suffer it should be brought up.

2. He was very modest and continent in all the parts of his life, saving that he was somewhat given to women and play: for the rest, he liked not great palaces, but was contented with mean lodgings: and if there were any ornament, it was in porches and parks. His household-stuff and apparel was nothing³ sumptuous nor costly. It pleased him well to make feasts; he very carefully made choice of his guests, and oftentimes he sat down at the table a long time after everybody, and would rise before others, which remained after he was up. In his ordinary diet he banished superfluity of meats, he delighted to be merry and pleasant among his friends, or to bring in pleasant players of comedies to pass the time away. And he did not tie himself to any certain hours to eat his meat, but when his stomach served him he took something. So that sometimes he supped not at all, and then, when every man was gone, he made them bring him meat, neither dainty nor delicate. Also he drunk⁴ very little wine; he slept in the day, and by times in the night, talking with some or reading: so that oftentimes he slept not till the break of day, and, for that he took no rest in the night, he might chance to sleep in his litter as they carried him in the streets in the daytime up and down Rome. He was a goodly prince, and that kept himself in good state from the beginning of his life to the latter end: not curious to set himself out, as little caring to be shaven as to wear long hair: and instead of a looking-glass, reading in his book or writing, even whilst the

barber was trimming of him. Whether he spake or held his peace, he had so comely a face, that many of his enemies, bent to do him hurt, their hearts would not serve them so soon as ever they looked on him. He had very clear and lively eyes, but with time¹ he was subject to many diseases and infirmities, the which he remedied with great care. As for his exercises, he left arms and horses immediately after the civil wars: for he was never any great soldier. He would play at tennis, at the ballone², he would go abroad in his coach to walk and stir himself. Sometimes he would go a-fishing, or play at the bones, or at nuts, with young children of the Moors and Syrians that had some pretty manner and behaviour with them, and always spake words to move laughter. He was learned in the liberal sciences, very eloquent, and desirous to learn: insomuch that during the war of Mutine³, in the midst of all his infinite affairs, he did read, he wrote, and made orations amongst his familiars. He never spake unto the Senate nor people, nor to his soldiers, but he had first written and premeditated that he would say unto them, although he had speech at commandment, to propound or answer to anything in the field. And because he would not deceive his memory, or lose time in superfluous speech, he determined ever to write all that he would say: and he was the first inventor of it. If he had to confer with any man, or with his wife in any matters of importance, he would put that down in his writing-tables, because he would speak neither more nor less. And he took pleasure to pronounce his words with a sweet voice and good grace, having continually about him for this purpose a fine man to frame his voice. But one day having a pain in his mouth, he made his oration to the people by an herald. He made many books and verses of divers sorts; but all is dead with the time. His speech was as the rest of his life, eloquent, well couched together, and sententious. He delighted to read good authors, but he gathered nothing other than the sentences teaching good manners: and having written them out word by word, he gave out a copy of them to his familiars: and sent them about to the governors of provinces, and to the magistrates of Rome and of other cities. He was somewhat, and too much, given to divinations; he was marvellously afraid of thunder and lightning; he had a great confidence in dreams, and in such like vanities. But peradventure we are too curious searching out his private life: yet that may sometime discover great personages more than their public actions, in the which they are

¹ in course of time.

What exercises Augustus used.

² a game now called *ballone*.

³ Mutina.

Augustus' memorable acts done while he reigned.

¹ impossible.

² before.

more careful to frame their countenances, and do counterfeit most.

3. Now, as we have lightly run over his private life before spoken of, so shall the memorable deeds done by his authority be briefly represented: being impossible¹ to comprehend in a few lines so many notable things, unless a man would make a great book of them. This is to be noted in him, that so young a man, having so small beginnings, coming out of a mean house in comparison of others, hath excelled all other young and old men in wisdom and greatness of courage; should rise so high, that before he had been prætor the Senate gave him the name of Augustus, created him master of the horse, when as yet he never had charge of a company of men-at-arms: proclaimed him emperor and sovereign captain, afore² he had been placed in any public office by authority of the Senate. Furthermore, for the first time he was chosen consul when he was but twenty years old: and he was thirteen times consul, and twenty times called sovereign captain. Afterwards, when he was not yet four and thirty years old, the Senate and people of Rome gave him this goodly pame of father of his country, because he had maintained and preserved the commonwealth. It is a wonderful thing that he could wind himself out of so many great affairs and wars, that he could, within four and twenty years of age, restore again into so good estate the commonwealth of Rome, turmoiled and troubled with so many proscriptions and civil wars as it was. And that afterwards, so long as he commanded alone, he did so firmly establish this monarchy, that notwithstanding the infinite troubles received under other emperors, yet it stood upright and in so great prosperity for so many hundred years. After the death of Julius Cæsar, this man, being but bare eighteen years old, came to Rome, where he was welcomed, and immediately did contest with Antonius, hated of Cicero and of many others: from whence the advancement of this young Cæsar came, and the declaration of the war against Antonius, judged an enemy of the commonwealth, and overcome by the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. Cæsar, who was their associate, was called sovereign captain, though he had not yet fought: both the consuls being dead of their hurts. But the Senate, after this overthrow, beginning to change their mind, he, perceiving that they were slow to grant him the consulship, resolved to possess it by force of arms, and began to acquaint himself with Antonius and Lepidus, which were joined together.

He made that the soldiers promised by oath the one to the other, that they would fight against none of Cæsar's troup¹, and sent 400 men to Rome to ask for him, in the name of all the army, the office of consul. They having delivered their charge unto the Senate, Cornelius the centiner², chief of this legation or ambassade, perceiving they would give him no present answer, casting up his cassock and shewing the Senate the pomel of his sword, said unto them: "This shall do it, if you will not do it." So they being returned without obtaining their demand, Cæsar made Antonius and Lepidus come into Italy, and he for his part having passed the river of Rubicon, marched with eight legions right to Rome. This put all Rome in such a fear, as they sent to Cæsar to present him the consulship: and twice so much in gift as they had promised the legions. Now whilst the ambassadors were on their way, the senators beginning again to take heart to them, encouraged by the arrival of the legions of Africa, they determined to try all means before they would betray the liberty of their country, being minded to call back that which they had sent to Cæsar, and so disposed themselves to make war. Cæsar, being offended with this inconstancy, sent certain horsemen before to assure the people that he would make no tumult at all: he drew his legions near, and made himself lord of Rome without one stroke stricken: and contrariwise, the people and Senate received him with shew of great joy. Then, in the assembly of all the people, he was chosen consul, just at the full accomplishment of twenty years of his age. So he demanded in the field that they should proceed criminally against those that had killed his father Cæsar. Q. Pedius, his fellow-consul, published the decree. So were Brutus and Cassius and all their friends condemned, with interdiction of water and fire. But forasmuch as Augustus had too small means to set upon Brutus and Cassius, he reconciled Antonius and Lepidus with the Senate, and made alliance with them, followed with great armies. They joined, and were in consultation of their affairs the space of three days together, near unto Bolonia, or unto Mutine³: and as if the Roman empire had been their own inheritance, they divided it between them three. So that Cæsar had the high and base⁴ Lybia, with Sicilia and Sardinia. Spain and Gaul Narbonense fell unto Lepidus: and the rest of Gaul was for Antonius. They did decree also that they should be called Triumviri, appointed for the re-establishment of the commonwealth, with sovereign authority for

¹ troops.² centurion.

*Augustus
obtaineth
the consul-
ship by force
of arms.*

³ Mutina.⁴ low.

*Augustus,
Lepidus,
and Anto-
nius joint
rulers.*

five years, to dispose and give the estates and offices to whom they thought good, without asking advice of the Senate or people. So they established Lepidus consul for the year following, in the place of Decimus Brutus that was killed: and they gave him the guard of Rome and Italy, so long as they two that remained made their preparations to go against Brutus and Cassius. Besides the presents they should make unto the soldiers after the victory, they promised to give them leave to ease themselves, and eighteen rich towns in Italy for them to dwell in. Then they began to set up¹ a roll of all the citizens of Rome appointed by them to be slain. And they decreed to every free man that should bring the Triumviri a head of the proscripts, the sum of two thousand five hundred crowns, and half so much unto the slaves with enfranchisement: and the like sum also to whosoever could discover any man that had hidden or favoured the proscripts. Antonius and Lepidus were thought to be the chief authors of this horrible tragedy; and Cæsar seemed willing² to none but to the murderers³ of his father, and did a long time oppose himself against the other two: but at the length he gave over, and they made wonderful changes, abandoning their own parents and friends the one to the other, to be revenged of their enemies. But when the sword was once drawn, he was no less cruel than the other two. Cicero was not forgotten, as we may see in his life: and it would be very hard to describe the wickedness of that time, the which like a furious stream carried away so many citizens of Rome. In whose history do appear most rare examples of all sorts of vices and virtues in all manner of persons; of whom we will make mention, after those that have written more at large: as amongst others, Appianus Alexandrinus: which will serve to shew, how much a man is a furious beast, being lift⁴ up in authority in the commonwealth, and given to revenge. That there is nothing certain nor sure in man's prosperity, which bringeth much envy to his servants: as to the contrary, adversity maketh the afflicted contemptible, and everybody ashamed of them. But they are wise men that in such tragical accidents do carry an invincible heart, resolutely obeying necessity and a more high providence than that of man. We must not call that intolerable which may happen to great or mean men: for all human accidents are under the feet of Virtue. It chanceth often that force and wisdom do defend a man, as always these two virtues do preserve his honour. He is well

¹ publish.

*Antonius
and Lepidus
authors of a
bloody
tragedy.
² consenting.
³ murderers.*

*Wise and
sage sen-
tences.
⁴ lifted.*

advised that can finely pacify and divert the fury of an enemy : as to the contrary, shame and despair do gripe¹ cowards, slothful, and fearful. But in fine, necessity presseth on the one side, and danger on the other.

4. So they did set up the names of the proscripts fastened in divers places of Rome, to the number of an hundred and thirty senators for the first time, a hundred and fifty at the second time, and two thousand knights. Then was the gate open to all villanies and cruelties, fought withal by patience and fidelity : but the examples will shew that better than all the discourse a man can make. Salvius Otho, tribune of the people, was one of the first : who having invited his friends to his last supper, a centener² came in, and in the presence of all his guests, half dead for fear, strake³ off his head. Minutius the prætor was also killed, sitting in his seat of judgment. L. Villius Annalis, a man that had been consul, being escaped out of the hands of the murtherers, saved himself in the suburbs in a little house of one of his clients : but his own son, having no patience to stay for the inheritance of his father, bewrayed⁴ him unto the soldiers, who went to kill him there. Shortly after this paricide, being drunk, had a quarrel with the self-same soldiers, who stabbed him in⁵ with their daggers. C. Toranius was betrayed in like manner by his own son, who having consumed in a few days the succession which he had so execrably pursued, and being condemned for theft, was banished into a place where he died for want and poverty. Now against these wicked, let us set some virtuous children. Q. Cicero was hid by his son, whom they could never make confess (though he was tormented) where his father was : who, not able any longer to endure they should afflict so virtuous a son with so many evils for his sake, came and presented himself to the murtherers. The son began to intreat them to kill him before his father : but they were both killed at one time. The Egnaces, father and son, one embracing the other, were both run through and slain at one blow. C. Hosidius Geta was buried for dead by his son : who saved him, sustained, and kept him till it was peace. Arruntius, after he had comforted and strengthened his son, put himself to the swords of the murtherers. The son died immediately after for grief and famine. Some other children carefully saved and kept their fathers, and hid them. Certain women also shewed themselves marvellous faithful and loving to their husbands : and so were there, to the contrary, some

¹ seize.

150 senator
and 2000
knights ap-
pointed to
be slain.

² centurion.

³ struck.

⁴ betrayed.

Two parri-
cides justly
punished.
⁵ stabbed him
mortally.

A good son.

Women :
some faith-
ful to their
husbands,
others un-
faithful.

unfaithful, that discovered their wonderful wickedness. Tanusia made such earnest suit, that she obtained grace of Cæsar for T. Junius her husband, who was hidden by Philopœmen, his bondman enfranchised; whom Cæsar knighted for his fidelity to his master. Q. Ligarius, having been kept by his wife, was discovered by a slave, and killed: wherefore his wife killed herself with famine. Lucretius Vespillo, having erred¹ and run in great danger here and there, not knowing whither to fly, came secretly to his wife Thuria, and was hidden and kept close betwixt the seeling² and the top of the house, until she had obtained his grace of the Triumviri. Apuleius was saved by his wife, who fled with him. The wife of Antius wrapped up her husband in coverlets, and made him be carried to the sea as a packet of stuff, where he embarked³, and sailed into Sicilia. Coponius was saved by his wife, who put her honour aside in respect of her husband's life: for she lent her body one night unto Antonius to preserve him (which she did by that means) whom she loved better than herself. Now to the contrary, some women, unfaithful to their husbands, delivered them into the hands of the murderers, because they might marry again. Amongst othei, the wife of Septimius, having shamefully given her body unto one of Antonius' familiars, she caused her husband to be put in the number of the proscripts, that she might more easily continue her adultery: and so was Septimius put to death. Q. Vettius Salassus was hidden in a sure privy place, wherewith he acquainted his wife; but she straight revealed him to the murderers. The which he perceiving, from a high place where he was, cast himself down headlong, choosing rather to die so, than to make his cruel wife pastime. Fulvius was discovered by a slave of his and his concubine, jealous because he had married a wife, and had left her; although notwithstanding he had made her free, and had given her goods to live withal. Now let us presently speak of the faithfulness and unfaithfulness of slaves enfranchised. P. Naso was betrayed by his slave freed, with whom he had been too familiar. But he sold his death, for he killed the traitor with his own hands, and afterwards held out his neck to the hangman. L. Lucceius had put into the hands of two of his slaves manumitted⁴ as much as was necessary to have relieved him in his banishment: but they ran away with all, and he came and put himself to the slaughter. Haterius, that was in a secret place, was sold and discovered by a slave of his. Cassius Varus, being bewrayed by a freeman

¹ wandered.² ceiling.³ embarked.

Enfranchised slaves: some treacherous, some true.

⁴ manumitted, freed.

that was his slave, escaped nevertheless, and hid himself among reeds: where being found by those of Minturnes¹, they took him for a thief, and would have racked him to have bewrayed² his companions: he discovered himself to be a senator of Rome, but they would not believe him, because he was in poor estate. But whilst they were reasoning of the matter, there cometh a centener³ that strake⁴ off his head. C. Plotius was saved by his slaves: but being a man given to perfume and rub himself with odoriferous ointments, the sent⁵ and smell of them discovered him to the soldiers, that went ferriting⁶ up and down in his house: yet could they not find him, but cruelly tormented his servants, to make them confess where he was: which they would never do. But Plotius, having compassion of the evils of his faithful slaves, came out of the place where he was hidden; and because he would prolong their life, he shortened his own, and presented himself to the murtherers. Appius Claudius, as he was near to be had by the back, changed his gown with his slave, who went in that sort to present himself to the murtherers: but they took off his head, and so he saved his master's head. Another slave of Menenius did the like: for he went into his master's litter, and offered his neck to the sword of the murtherers: who despatched him whilst his master got to the port of the sea, from whence he escaped into Sicilia. But the slave of Urbinus Panopio is worthy of memory everywhere: for he, hearing the murtherers came to sack⁷ his master, took his master's gown from him and his ring, gave him his own, and put him out at the back-gate. Then he goeth up into his master's chamber, and lay down upon his bed, where he boldly attended⁸ them, that killed him for Panopio. Another shewed himself no less faithful in the behalf of Antius Restio: for although his master had throughly thwacked him for his knavish tricks played a few days before, and that then it seemeth he had opportunity to be revenged; he to the contrary employed himself after a marvellous fashion to save his master: for he, meeting with an old man in his journey, strake⁹ off his head; and shewing that, with his whippings together, to the murtherers, he made them easily believe that he had been well revenged of his master, with whom immediately after he saved himself in Sicilia. The slaves of Martius Censorinus kept him a long time, and so well, that he had leisure to go to Sextus Pompeius. Q. Oppius, an honourable old man, and being almost at the pit's brink, like to be killed, was rescued by his son, who having

¹ Minturnæ.² betrayed.³ centurion.⁴ struck.⁵ scent.⁶ searching.

*Some enfranchise
men give
their own
lives to save
their mas-
ters.*

⁷ plunder.⁸ waited for.⁹ struck.

¹ cleverly.

Séxtus Pompeius rescued the proscripts.

T. Labienus tormented with a guilty conscience.

² waiting.

Strait imprisonment and poverty held worse than death.

³ isle.

A treacherous servant punished.

⁴ deed.

⁵ emerald.

finely¹ gotten him out of Rome, took him upon his shoulders, and afterwards led him into Sicilia, where all the poor distressed Romans were gently received. For Pompeius had sent certain ships to keep upon the coast of Italy, and pinnaces everywhere, to the end to receive all them that fled on that side; giving them double recompence that saved a proscript, and honourable offices to men that had been consuls and escaped, comforting and entertaining the others with a most singular courtesy. Many went into Macedon to Brutus and Cassius: others into Africa to Cornificius. Some, having escaped the tempest that was in the time of Sylla, were even gluted with this cruelty: as amongst others, M. Fidustius, and Lucius Philuscius. T. Labienus was one of the number of the murtherers in the proscription of Sylla. Afterwards he did nothing else but go up and down with a soul possessed with furies: so that, being weary of his life at this time, he went and sat in a chair at his gate, quietly attending² that they should put him in the number of them that should be killed. Statius Samnis, an honourable senator, being fourscore years old, because thieves should have no part of his goods, he left them in prey to whosoever would take them: and afterwards set his house on fire, and burnt himself within it. Aponius, being kept a good while by his slaves, was so weary to be shut up in a troublesome place, and where he lived very poorly, that he came out to the marketplace, and held out his throat to the murtherers. Cestius, being possessed with the like grief, caused his slaves to make a great fire, and then cast himself in it. Sulpitius Rufus, a man that had been consul, died because of an ile³ of his the which he would not sell unto Fulvia: as also Ampius Balbus, for that he refused to give this woman a pleasant place of his. Balbus was betrayed by a servant of his, that shortly after was hanged upon a gibbet by sentence of the people; and so had his reward for his villanous fact⁴. Antonius did put in the number of proscripts a senator called Nonius Struma, and only to get out of his hands an emerald⁵ esteemed at fifty thousand crowns. But Nonius found the means to escape with his emerald, to the great despite of him that greedily desired this prey. Some valiantly defended themselves, as Atteius Capito, that killed many soldiers running rudely upon him, thinking he would have suffered himself to be killed as others were. Howbeit after he had sold his flesh dear, he was overcome by multitude of assailants. Vetulinus, aided with his son, having many times valiantly re-

pulsed the murtherers, he would have saved himself in Sicilia: but in the straight¹ he met with such a number of enemies, that there he was killed. Sicilius Coranas, a senator, was put in the number of proscripts, and because he would not with others condemn Brutus and Cassius, devising how to escape, he put himself in rank among those that carried a dead corpse to burial: but he was discovered and put to death. The Triumviri appointed such men as they liked of², to take charge of them that had been killed. They sold the goods of the proscripts by the drum, at such a price as the soldiers would: and yet the most part of them were spoiled and given away. They promised the widows their jointure, and to the sons the tenth part of the patrimony of their fathers, and to the daughters the twentieth part. Howbeit there were few, and in manner none, that had any benefit by that: but to the contrary, they sacked³ many that demanded such rights. On the other side, they did exact great sums of money upon the city of Rome, and over all Italy: the owners were constrained to give the half of their yearly revenue: the tenants to furnish one year's rent of that they held of others: the masters of houses, the half of the rent of their houses, according to the rent they went for. To encourage the soldiers, the Triumviri gave unmeasurable⁴ gifts, granted them daily new pillage: the legions wintered in the richest towns, who were compelled to feed the soldiers at their own charge. Furthermore, all the rich men were constrained to pay, in nature of a tribute, at one time, the tenth part of all that they were worth. To be short, so that they could find out new inventions, it was enough to exact money. For the fear, and custom to endure all, had fashioned men to be more slaves, than the murtherers and exactors would have had them. And to close up all, the Triumviri caused money to be coined, the which on the one side had the image of Antonius with an inscription in Latin, the effect⁵ whereof is this: M. Antonius Emperor, Augur, Triumvir, for the establishment of the commonwealth. And on the other side there were three hands joined together, with the marks of the consulship, and had these words: Salus generis humani, that is to say: 'The health⁶ of mankind.'

5. Now during the cruelties of this Triumvirate, Brutus and his followers made themselves strong in Macedon, and did divers exploits of war: and were afterwards overcome in the fields Philippians⁷, as hath been said in the life of Brutus, which we need not rehearse again, the principal being compre-

¹ strait.² approved.*Promise broken with the widows and children of the slain men.*³ plundered. *Great exactions used by the Triumviri.*⁴ immeasurable.⁵ meaning.⁶ safety.⁷ fields of Philippi.

¹caused.²plotted.

*Augustus
leadeth his
army
against the
allies of
Fulvia: and
after driveth
L. Antonius
out of Rome.*

³Perusia.

hended there. After this victory, Antonius went into the east to dispose of his affairs in Asia, and to levy money there to pay his soldiers, having promised to every one of them five hundred crowns. Cæsar returned into Italy to refresh himself, to assign colonies to his soldiers, to pacify the troubles Lepidus had procured¹, and to set a pike betwixt him and Pompey at a need, if he were never so little in league with him. Cæsar fell grievously sick at Brundisium: but being recovered again, he entered into Rome, pacified all things, and kept Lepidus in his wonted degree. But when he came to bring his soldiers into colonies, then the storm began to rise: for the owners cried out that they were tyrannized, being driven out of their inheritances: the old soldiers they complained that promise was not kept with them. Fulvia and some others practised² to set them on, to the end to draw a war into Italy, and by this means to make Antonius come again, besotted by Cleopatra. These things proceeded so far that Fulvia took arms; for she was then in the camp, her sword by her side; and commanded like a captain. Cæsar on the other side, being angry, sent her daughter home to her, unto whom he was betrothed, and led his army against the Nursinians and Sentinates, the allies of Fulvia. In the mean space Lucius Antonius departed in the night with speed, and entered into Rome by treason: used it as a city taken in war, and drove out Lepidus. Cæsar left Salvidienus to besiege the Sentinates, returned to Rome, and drove out Lucius, followed him and shortened his journey as he was going into Gaul, shut him up and besieged him a great time in Perouse³, and compelled him through famine to yield himself, and to crave pardon, which he granted him. Perouse was burnt by a strange accident: for one of the chiefest of the city having set his house on fire, after he had wounded himself with his dagger, a boisterous wind being risen upon it so dispersed the flames abroad, that it burnt all the houses besides. Cæsar caused some of his captains to be killed that were against him. He condemned the Nursinians in a great sum of money, and because they could not pay it, he drove them out of their city and territory. Afterwards he suppressed some troubles raised in Naples by Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius Cæsar, and favourer of Fulvia: who seeing herself under foot, she fled unto Athens. But Cæsar, to prevent a new conspiracy, sent Lucius Antonius far from Rome, to command the legions that were in Spain: he gave him also commissioners to look into

him, and to observe his actions. He finely¹ drave out Lepidus also into Africa with six legions. On the other side, Fulvia being dead, Cæsar and Antonius agreed, being ready to fight: after that, they made peace with Pompey that governed Sicilia. Immediately after that, he went into Gaul, to appease some troubles that happened there, and sent Agrippa before, who compelled the Aquitans to submit themselves, and pacified all Gaul. On the other side Cneus Calvinus subdued the Ceretani in Spain. And because the legions had committed certain insolencies, whereupon they fell together by the ears² and the enemies had the better hand, after he had sharply reprov'd them, he took the tenth man of the two first bands, and belaboured Jubellius with a cudgel.

6. In the meantime Cæsar sent at times troupes of men of arms into Dalmatia and Illyria, to the end to breathe³ them for other wars that were a-hatching, as that of Sicilia was the first. For Menas the pirate, Sextus Pompeius' lieutenant, having for despite⁴ brought his fleet unto Cæsar, and taken his part, unto whom also he delivered the isles⁵ of Sardinia and Corsica, with three legions, Cæsar did him great honours, and refused to deliver him again unto Pompey who asked him of him. Besides that, Pompey complained of Antonius, and pretending to have just occasions⁶, he took arms again. Wherefore Cæsar sent for Antonius and Lepidus out of Greece and Africa, to come to aid him. Antonius came to the haven of Brundisium: but upon the sudden, not known wherefore, he took sea again, and returned from whence he came. Lepidus came too late, which made Cæsar (seeing all the weight fall on his arms) that he sent his lieutenants against Pompey: who fought with them by sea and by land, and had the better, and put Cæsar to great trouble, who had like to have been killed by a slave also that would have revenged the death of his master's father, that was a proscript. After that, Antonius being come to Tarentum with intention to make war against Cæsar, Octavia, sister of the one and wife of the other, agreed⁷ them, so that they did yet prolong with Lepidus their Triumvirate for five years more. Antonius went against the Parthians, and Cæsar prepared to set upon Pompey again. Hereupon Menas, being angry for that he was not so well accounted of as he thought he deserved, he returned again to join with Pompey with seven galleys. Cæsar's fleet having sustained great hurt by tempest, was also beaten by Menas. Lepidus won Lilybee⁸, and took certain neighbour villages.

¹ finally.

Augustus and Antonius agree and after make peace with S. Pompeius.

² they quarrelled.

³ exercise.

War again between Augustus and S. Pompeius.
⁴ spite.
⁵ isles.

⁶ reasons.

Augustus' lieutenants overcome by Sextus Pompeius.

⁷ reconciled.

Menas revolts from Augustus to his old master S. Pompeius.
⁸ Lilybæum.

¹ Lipara.

² won.

Augustus ready to kill himself, is saved by Cornificius.

S. Pompeius overcome by Agrippa, Augustus' lieutenant, fleeth.

³ isle.

⁴ troops.

Augustus unarmed entereth into Lepidus' camp, who being forsaken loseth all.

Cæsar having repaired his ships and army by sea, and made it stronger than before, under the conduct of Agrippa, who sailed unto Lipare¹, he gave battle by sea unto Pompey's lieutenants. But they being aided by Menas (that was returned the second time), he overcame and wan² thirty ships. But the other fleet that Cæsar himself brought, was wholly overthrown by Pompey, near unto Tauromenion, and Cæsar brought to that extremity that he was ready to kill himself. But Cornificius ran to the shore, who saved him, and brought him to the camp: from whence he retired further off, and very quickly (but with great danger) unto Messala.

7. After certain encounters, where Pompey ever had the better, insomuch as Lepidus was suspected to lean on that side, Cæsar resolved to commit all to the hazard of a latter battle: and to draw Pompey unto it, he cut him so short of victuals, that he was constrained to come to blows, and the fight was very cruel: wherein Agrippa bestirred himself so valiantly, that he wan² the victory, sunk twenty-eight ships, brake and spoiled the most part of the rest, and took two of the chiefest captains Pompey had: one of the which, called Demochares, killed himself with his own hands. Now for Pompey, who but a little before had about three hundred and fifty sail, he fled away with all speed only with seventeen, and went to Messina so discouraged, that leaving all hope and his army he had by land, he went to the ile³ of Cephalonie, where being somewhat come to himself, he determined to repair to Antonius. But Tisienus, a Frenchman (his lieutenant of the army by land), led all his troupes⁴ unto Lepidus: some Greek historians report that it was to Cæsar. Plemminius was within Messina with eight legions, and did capitulate with Lepidus, to render up the town to him. Whereupon Agrippa happened to come thither: who maintained that they ought to regard Cæsar that was absent then. But that stood him in no stead: for Lepidus entered the town, and gave the spoil of it as well to Plemminius' soldiers as to his. Thereupon Cæsar undertook a thing worthy of memory, which was; that, being unarmed, he went into Lepidus' camp, and turning by the blows of the darts that were thrown at him by some, which hit his cloke and pierced it, he took hold of an ensign of a legion. Then the soldiers, all of them armed, followed him, and left Lepidus; who shortly after lost empire and army: he that with twenty legions promised himself Sicilia and a great deal more. Cæsar gave him his life, and the office of

sovereign bishop of Rome, whither he sent him. Some say he was banished. Upon these stirs there rose a sedition in Cæsar's camp through the insolency of the soldiers, that ran even to his judgment-seat, using great menaces. But he wisely appeased all, punished the authors of the tumult, and did cassiere¹ all the tenth legion with great shame and ignominy, because the soldiers of the same did outbrave² him in words. He dispersed and sent some others to their houses, and gave unto them that had used themselves gently two thousand sesterces for every soldier: which is thought to amount near to fifty crowns. He made them to be mustered, and found that they were five and forty legions, five and twenty thousand horsemen, and six and thirty thousand lightly armed. Afterwards he did great honours unto his lieutenant Agrippa for his notable service, and commanded Statilius Taurus to go into Africa to take possession of the provinces of Lepidus. Whilst Antonius made war with the Parthians, or rather unfortunately³ they made war with him to his great confusion, his lieutenant Titius found the means to lay hands upon Sextus Pompeius, that was fled into the ile⁴ of Samos, and then forty years old: whom he put to death by Antonius' commandment: for which fact⁵ he was so hated of the people of Rome, that though he had given them the pastime of certain plays at his own cost and charges, they drave him out of the theatre.

8. Moreover, Cæsar, thinking to have sailed out of Sicilia into Mauritania, the sea being rough stayed him: which was the cause that he sent his army into Illyria, and set upon the Iapudes, which did him much mischief, yet at the last he overcame them. Then he ran upon the Pannonians and the Dalmatians, whom he made tributaries; being hurt in his thighs, in his arms, and in one of his knees, in this war against the Illyrians. On the other side, Messala, his lieutenant, fought against the Salassians, dwelling in a valley environed with high mountains of the Alps; and after divers overthrowes, he made them subject to the empire. And shortly after Cæsar was chosen consul the second time: but he resigned the office the same day unto Autronius Pætus, being about to make himself friends against Antonius: who, being stayed⁶ about Cleopatra, gave his wife occasion⁷ to return from Athens to Rome. Now after the fire of enmity betwixt these two competitors had been a-hatching a certain time, it stood either of them both upon⁸, to seek all the means to overthrow his companion. The strange

The tenth legion cassiered for their insolent words.
¹ cashier.
² insult.

³ unfortunately.

Sextus Pompeius put to death by the commandment of Antonius.
⁴ isle.
⁵ deed.

Augustus hurt in his thighs, arms, and one of his knees.

⁶ delayed.

⁷ opportunity.

⁸ behoved one of them.

proceedings of Antonius in favour of Cleopatra hastened the war, whereupon followed the battle of Actium, the flying of these wicked lovers, and the beginning of the monarchy of Cæsar, confirmed by the conquest of Egypt, and the tragical death of Antonius and Cleopatra. The which we touch briefly, the whole being largely set down in the life of Antonius. They did great honours unto Cæsar after these exploits. The memory of Antonius was condemned, and his statues maimed and thrown down to the ground. A little before, M. Lepidus, son of the Triumvir and of Junia sister of Brutus, conspired against Cæsar. But after they had discovered it, he was put to death by the wisdom of C. Mecenass a knight, and governor of Rome: his wife Servilia killed herself, as Portia the wife of Brutus. After the utter overthrow of Antonius, Cæsar took order¹ for the affairs of the east parts. He made alliance with Herodes king of Judea. He sent the king of the Parthians son in hostage to Rome, until they should send all the ensigns and standards they had won of Crassus and Antonius. He governed the affairs of Asia, received into league and friendship with him the kings of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia: and he punished some others by fines, that were not his friends. He gave privileges to the cities of Ephesus, of Nice, Pergame, and Bithynia, to build temples in the honour of Julius Cæsar, of Rome, and of himself. He set the Samians at liberty, and after he had taken order¹ for all the rest, he went towards Italy: where, after he was arrived, it cannot be expressed with what great joy he was received of high and low, from Brundisium unto Rome. There he triumphed three days together, for the Illyrians, for Antonius, and for Cleopatra. He gave great presents unto soldiers, and besides the money that was made of the booty, and distributed by even portions, he gave every one fifty crowns apiece, the double to a centener², and the treble to a knight: and to every person among the people ten crowns, even to little children. He brought such store of gold and silver out of Egypt (by him reduced into a province, and condemned to pay twenty millions of gold to the people of Rome for a fine) that he brought down usury from twelve in the hundred, to four: and made that land and houses were sold dear, where before the rich men had them almost for nothing. Furthermore, he brought-in³ a marvellous change in all traffic: he also abolished all taxes and subsidies imposed by necessity of the civil wars. He cried down all strange coin, which were at too high a price for their

*M. Lepidus
put to death
for conspi-
racy.*

*Augustus
acts after
the over-
throw of
Antonius.
¹ arranged.*

*Augustus
triumpheth.*

*Augustus
great libe-
rality.*

² centurion.

³ introduced.

law, and all through the iniquity of time. He lent out money for a time, without interest, unto those that had means to make double profit of it. He would not receive the gold which the cities of Italy sent him to make him crowns: but sent them it back again with his thanks for their good will. He gave the pastime for all manner of games and magnificent sights unto the people, such as they had never seen before. He made goodly feasts unto the senators and magistrates, and by a world of pleasures he appeased the sorrow of proscription, and of so many civil wars. Being occupied in these matters, letters came from Crassus, Cæsar's lieutenant, advertising that he had subdued the Bastarnes, divers people of Mæsia, of Dacia, and of Thracia: that he had won seven or eight battles of them, that with his own hands he had killed the king of the Bastarnes, and had brought the king of Getes to such extremity, that he killed himself. These news did increase the joy, and the triumph was granted to Crassus, and to Cæsar also: who by the decree of the Senate caused the temple of Janus to be shut the third time, which had remained open the space of 200 years. At this time Cæsar, that was in his fift¹ consulship, numbered and mustered all the people of Rome, reformed the senate, the order of knights, the distribution of corn: and because of the great dearth that was then, he made corn to be distributed to the people at a very mean price to some, and for gramer²cy to the poor. They that had been bound to the commonwealth of too long a time, he discharged them and burnt their obligations. He confirmed the propriety of houses, in strife betwixt them and the commonwealth, if they had been in quiet possession any convenient time. And to assure all those that had adhered unto Antonius, and to keep them that they should no more give ear to any new rumours, he sware³ unto them in good faith, that having taken Antonius' coffers, he had burnt all the letters he found in them, and read not one of them. He set down an order for custom⁴, eased the customers⁵ that had been too much oppressed: also he restored the treasure again, and the augur of health. And by reason of that above-named, he was called Father of the Country in open Senate: and at the same time he sent people to Carthage, to set up the families of the patricians, greatly diminished by the proscriptions and civil wars.

9. The next year following, which was the 725 of the foundation of Rome, and the sixt⁶ of his consulship, seeing all the

Good tidings brought to Augustus from Crassus his lieutenant.

*The temple of Janus shut the third time.
¹ fifth.*

² gratis.

Augustus setteth the commonwealth in order.

³ swore.

⁴ tribute.

⁵ tax-gatherers.

⁶ sixth.

Augustus consulteth whether he were best to lay away the imperial dignity.

¹ straight-way.

² dominion. *Mæcnas dissuadeth Augustus from laying aside the rule of the common-wealth.*

³ care for.

⁴ against men's wills.

wars appeased, peace established, arms laid down everywhere, the commonwealth in good strength, the laws honoured, justice in authority, the senate in their ancient glory, and the people restored by him to their rights of assembly to choose their yearly magistrates, and to give out their commissions and charges according to their old custom: he began to reason the matter with himself, which of the twain was most profitable, either to keep (for the good of the state, and under the title of a prince) the empire which he had in his hands: or whether he should render it up unto the people. He found himself grieved for that Antonius had oftentimes accused him of tyranny and unjust invasion: and on the other part also he apprehended the fury of the people, and the factions of ambitious men, which, like the billows of the sea, would incontinently¹ toss in horrible fashion this unconstant sea. Being thus perplexed, one day he took aside Agrippa and C. Mæcnas, his two faithful friends, very wise men and of great experience above all others; and prayed them to tell him plainly, without flattery, what they thought of it, being resolved to follow that which should be most expedient for the good of the commonwealth. Agrippa by an ample discourse did counsel him to render up to the people his principality and signiory². Mæcnas was of the contrary opinion, and gave such counsel as Cæsar followed, tempering both opinions, and made himself master in such sort that the people felt it not, but rather confessed that they needed such a physician to raise them up again from the incurable maladies they were fallen into. He thanked both his friends, gave his niece Marcella to be the wife of Agrippa, and did him new honours; proceedeth to a new review of the citizens of Rome; and is chosen Prince of the Senate by Agrippa, who was then his companion in the consulship. Furthermore, assuring himself that so much good and honours as had been communicated to the small and great, would make them they would not much pass for³ their ancient dignities and liberty: and that the sweetness of the ease and rest they did enjoy would make them forget all the good and evil past; he borrowed of his magnanimity the marvellous counsel that followeth. He resolved to discharge himself of the principality into the hands of all the Senate, to render it unto the people; hoping that the Senate, seeing his affection so to submit himself to the accustomed order, and not to seek a domination and government ill-willed⁴, they would thank him the more: that all the great persons would lay aside

the envy which they might bear unto him, and that the people would esteem and love him so much the more. Upon this thought, and after he had acquainted some of the senators withal that stood affected to him, to the end to win others by their means, he made an oration in open Senate, well studied, and fit for the time. Having made a long discourse of the great extent of the empire, and of his insufficiency, he added unto it, that this common burthen could not be carried but by the immortal gods: that he had continued some years to manage a part of it, and that experience had made him know that his shoulders were too weak to bear such a burthen as the principality, subject to infinite changes, and exposed to a thousand ambushes. He therefore required¹, the city being furnished with so many noble persons, that the affairs might be managed by many men, who joining themselves together, might more easily satisfy the charges than one alone: that in a good hour, having set all things in good estate again, he did put the commonwealth into the hands of the Senate and people of Rome. This oration diversely moved the senators. Some of them thought, there was more art than truth in it. Others judged, that it was not expedient to put the estate into the power of many. The most of them, enriched and made great by Cæsar, and that were risen up by the ruins of their country, said: that they should prefer that which now they had in hand, before all the time past, beaten with so many tempests. Many others inclined² to that side, not that they were in good earnest of that mind, but for fear to be looked upon with an evil eye, if they did speak against their companions. So then all of them with one consent, unadvisedly, rather than of a common and ripe judgment, began to beseech and adjure Cæsar, that it would please him to be chief and preserver of the empire, of the which he had set down so many goodly and happy foundations. Immediately they ordained that Cæsar's guard should have twice as much pay as they had before. Agrippa was of opinion, that they should cassiere³ the Spanish guard, and Cæsar in their place should choose a guard of Almaines⁴, knowing well that in those great bodies there was little malice hidden, and less subtilty: and that they were a people that took more pleasure to be commanded, than to command.

10. He being thus established in his empire by the consent of the Senate and people, to the end they should not think he would lift himself up above measure, or to give sure footing

¹ asked.
Augustus requireth assistants to rule the empire.

² inclined.

The Senate and the people not willing to take the government into their hands.

³ cashier.

⁴ Germans.

Augustus takes charge of the empire for ten years.

¹ state.² levy.³ horses.⁴ convicted.⁵ except.

*Augustus
repaireth
the city of
Rome.*

*The name of
Augustus
invented by
M. Plancus.*

to a perpetual monarchy: he would not accept the charge to provide for the affairs of estate¹, and the government of the provinces, but for the space of ten years: with condition to give up his charge before this term, if things were sooner settled in their full estate. First therefore, he left a part of the provinces unto the Senate and people, to take care for the government of the same: and for himself, he kept those that were not yet in order, and in the which he should be driven to make war. In those that were quiet, he established proconsuls: and for others, he governed them by his lieutenants, which had their lesson, according unto the which they were bound to be directed. Among other laws they were forbidden to leavie² any money, or to gather men of war together, or to assail any province, without the commandment of the Senate or of Cæsar. That forthwith, when they sent any successors, they should leave their government, and repair to Rome within three months. He appointed also unto the proconsuls a certain sum of money to bear their charges for their horse³ and carriage of the stuff. Furthermore he established a law, that the proconsul or governor should not go to his province appointed him, till the end of five years after his commission granted him: to the end that they which were convinced⁴ for taking of money corruptly, should pay to the provinces the fine they should be condemned in: and he deprived them of all estates and honours which through their evil behaviours had been condemned in such fines. And further, he would not that the officers that had to deal in his affairs should have any authority, but⁵ to demand their stipends and money which the provinces were bound to furnish. And because he would beautify and adorn Rome, as the majesty of the empire required, he raised up many common buildings, and repaired many that had been left unfinished or ruined, leaving the names of the founders. His buildings, among other, were the temple of Apollo in the palace, with the porch, and a library of Greek and Latin books. Also the monuments, and the park for the walks and pleasure of the people of Rome. In his seventh consulship, certain senators propounded, that they should call him Romulus, for that, he having preserved the city of Rome, it was as much bound unto him as unto the first founder. But he would not accept of that name. Wherefore Munacius Plancus bethought himself of another, the which was given unto him by common consent of all, and he held it to his death: as also we will call him from henceforth in all that remaineth to be set

down of his deeds: to wit¹, Augustus. He, not to seem unworthy of this name, and to carry himself so that no man should repent his change of government, began diligently to set his hand to these affairs. He wisely reformed the ancient laws, and made new that were very necessary. To make sure work in these affairs, he chose from six months to six months fifteen senators that had been consuls, and did privately acquaint them with all that was requisite to be done for the preservation of the quietness of the commonwealth, giving order that nothing should pass but it should be searched and examined to the bottom: saying that he would give the people laws which they should all allow², and that he would not be his own judge alone. Afterwards he reformed the assemblies of the city, where all things were carried by suits, presents, and violence. He then restored the people their right, by voices³ to choose the magistrates. And to cut off all suits, he forbade them to make any roll of suitors' names, but⁴ of those that had laid down great sums of money, to the end that, being convinced of⁵ their suits, they should be put to their fines: adding also this ignominy, that such should be deprived of all estates and honours for the space of five years. And furthermore, he finely⁶ hindered the bad practices in elections, giving order that none should be put in nomination but such as were virtuous and of good reputation. He left unto the magistrates their charges⁷ whole, and did always require⁸ in all his consulships that they should give him two companions; howbeit the Senate would never agree unto it. The year before, he had reduced the number of senators to six hundred, all honourable men. At that time also he re-established the ancient order and dignity: ordaining that the Senate should have the superintendency of the treasure, and of all the revenues that belonged to the people of Rome: that all the expenses for the commonwealth should be made by their ordinance: that the senators should have the hearing of all crimes of treason, conspiracy, ambushes, and offences to his Majesty's person: and that it should pertain to them to give entertainment and answer that should be fit, to ambassadors of nations. When in matters of importance he asked the advice of the Senate, instead of coming to the Prince of the Senate according to the accustomed manner, or to him that was appointed Consul, or to other senators by order: he made choice of any one of them which he thought good, to the end that every one should give attentive ear, and be ready to deliver his opinion:

¹ namely.

*Augustus
by good laws
reformeth
the common-
wealth.*

² approve.³ votes.⁴ except.⁵ convicted
in.

*Augustus'
care for
election of
good magis-
trates.*

⁶ greatly.⁷ duties.⁸ request.

and not to hold his head down in his rank, and content himself to be of other men's minds. He ordained also, that the whole body of the Senate should not assemble but from fifteen days to fifteen days : howbeit that in ordinary matters the magistrates should think of that that were expedient. In the months of September and October, the senators were not bound to meet, but only four hundred drawn by lot : who might establish any decree. And as for himself, to honour this company the more, the day of the assembly he never saluted any of the senators apart, but all of them together in the council-chamber when they were set, and all of them name by name, the one after the other. If he would go out, and that he said he would detain the company no longer, he bade them farewell in the same manner that he had saluted them at his coming in. He ruled justice also civil and criminal, and willed that amongst other things the criminals accused by certain enemies should be set at liberty : with condition notwithstanding that they should be brought to prison again, if the accuser did submit himself to receive the like punishment as the offender, if it were found he slandered him. Moreover, he made provision for common works, and reparations of bridges, causeys¹, and highways. And because he was determined to make a voyage into Gaul, he established Messala governor of Italy and of Rome, for fear lest any trouble should happen in his absence. But this place being troublesome unto Messala, he besought Augustus he would discharge him : and therefore Agrippa was substituted, who rid all Italy of a great number of thieves and robbers on highways, and stayed the courses of many other troubles of the state.

11. The affairs of Rome and Italy being in so quiet estate, understanding that England was full of sedition, Spain next unto the mountains Pirenei in arms, and Gaul ready to rise : he opened the temple of Janus, and took his journey to give order for all. But the ambassadors of England prevented² him, and promised tribute. Then he went to Gaul in Narbonne, to draw nearer to Spain. And so holding on his journey to Narbonne, he pacified the Gauls, he made an exact numbering of all the Gauls, of their goods, possessions, and slaves, and caused the rolls to be brought unto him. He established laws and customs in every place, and divided Gaul into four parts : of the which the first part was called Narbonense, which extendeth itself from the river of Var unto the mountains Pirenei. Aquitain the second, unto the river of Garonne. The third,

Augustus his justice toward those that were falsely accused, and toward slanderers.

¹ causeways.

Italy freed from thieves and robbers.

² anticipated.

Augustus maketh peace in France, and divideth it into four parts.

Gaul Lyonnoise, unto the river of Seine. Then Gaul Belgica, bordered with the river of Rhein¹: and rated all the Gauls at ten millions of gold for a tax. Now there remained no more for him to do, but to bring Spain to order: in the which the Romans had made continual wars the space of 200 years together. Nevertheless the Cantabrians and Asturians (which are the Basques) and other people neighbours dwelling in the mountains, they neither cared for Augustus, nor for the empire: for they were ever in arms, and made incursions upon the allies of the people of Rome, and did them great mischief; who complaining unto Augustus of the great necessity they were brought unto, he, being near unto them, came to aid them: and found the Cantabrians besieging of a fort, having taken the town by it called Sagesame. He charged them home with such fury that he left them dead in the place, after they had valiantly defended themselves. Afterwards he divided his army into three parts, and environed the country of the Cantabrians, who made head for the space of five years, and did marvellous great hurt to the Romans: and if the streights², whereby they might easily enter into their country, had not been discovered unto Augustus, they had sent him home again to Rome with shame. But having found the way to surprise them on every side, he made a cruel war upon them, putting all to fire and blood. They retired with speed to one of their highest mountains, with all that they could carry with them. The Romans, perceiving that it was too hard a match for them, if they should go thither to set upon so warlike a nation, and that could not be subdued by force; they made forts in the midst of the mountain, and placed a strong guard there, to the end to famish the Cantabrians, and by that means to bring them to reason. But they on the other side, instead of yielding themselves, did abide³ all the miseries that any man can possibly think of: and it came to that pass, that even to sustain nature the strong sons killed their own fathers, the mothers their infants, and the young men did devour the old, eating up their flesh. Upon this evil there followed another, to wit, discord among them. Some would yield, others were of another mind. The former alleging, that they must needs submit themselves to the mercy of the Romans: the other, that they should make a desperate sally upon the enemies' camp, and so sell their lives. Their contention waxed so hot and violent, that the Cantabrians thrust out ten thousand of the Asturians with their wives and children, and compelled them to

¹ Rhine.

*Augustus
maketh war
with the
Cantabrians
and bringeth
them to ex-
treme fa-
mine and
misery.*
² straits,
passes.

³ endure.

¹ pound.
² wild celery.

³ state.

⁴ troops.

⁵ with such
small
patience.

⁶ moun-
taineers.

⁷ Saragossa.

⁸ Ebro.

*Augustus
warring
against the
Asturians,
driveth them
to extremi-
ties.
All goods
common
amongst
friends.*

descend along the forts made by the Romans: whom they in- treated with the tears in their eyes to make them slaves, and to give them somewhat to eat. Tiberius then, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, would not suffer them to be received, to the end to famish the one by the other, and to end this war without any bloodshed. This poor people, being deprived of sustenance and hope, and being afraid they should yet endure greater evils, began to powne¹ a venomous herb like unto smallage², and poisoned themselves. The young men killed themselves, running one against another with their swords in their hands. The others, to the number of three and twenty thousand, came down in a most miserable estate³ from the top of the mountain, and yielded themselves to the discretion of the Romans; who set aside ten thousand of the strongest of them, to serve them in the war which they intended to make against the Asturians. The rest were sold by troups⁴, with condition that they should be carried far from their country, and that they should not be made free, before they had served them as slaves the space of thirty years. They disarmed ten thousand of them: which they bare so patiently⁵, that many killed themselves with their own hands, esteeming their life nothing without arms. They say that a little child with a dagger killed his father and brethren that were chained together, and that by the commandment of the father: and that a woman did the like to some of her kins- folks. And that many of these mountaineers⁶ accustomed to rob passengers, being upon the gibbet, sang out songs aloud, even at their death, shewing a joy and marvellous courage. Augustus, being then in those parts, gave leave to the soldiers of his guard of Spaniards to depart into the territory of the Gascons with great presents, and privilege to enter in rank amongst the Roman legions. He built Saragousse⁷, and other towns, which he replenished with soldiers, to bridle the courses and tumults of the Celtiberians: and afterwards made a stone bridge over the famous river of Eber⁸. Then having overthrown the Co- niscas, friends of the Asturians, taken their head city, and put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword: he set upon the Astu- rians, who, being environed of all parts, and choosing rather to die than to be made slaves, burnt, killed, and poisoned them- selves, and with them many other of their neighbours. There were some of them yet left alive, with whom the Cantabrians joined and other their neighbours, and that a long time. These people had this custom, that all goods were common amongst

friends, and when one of them came to the other, he received and used him as himself : and so also in adversity they ran one fortune¹; or else killed themselves immediately after their friends were dead. Among them were certain loose people gathered together out of divers parts, who resolved all together to go charge the Romans, and came to fight with such a fury, that nothing but the night could separate them, having lost many of both sides. The next morning they began to join² again with more violence than before, and the fight continued even till night, that the Romans obtained the victory: but they confessed, that they never encountered with such cruel enemies. They that were left alive fled into a town, in the defence whereof they made themselves all to be killed, rather than to yield themselves. Augustus built certain places there in that country, which afterwards by time were much enlarged. In this self-same year of his ninth consulship, Terentius Varro, his lieutenant, subdued the Salassians, which are those of the vale of Ostre: he disarmed them, so'd the young men by the drum³, gave part of the territory unto the soldiers Prætorians, and built there a city called Augusta Prætoria. Vinicius also appeased some troubles in Germany, and made war very fortunately in divers places. By means of which victories, Augustus was called the eight⁴ time Imperator, as much to say as sovereign captain: and they suffered him to wear from that time forth, the first day of the year, a hat of laurel and a robe of triumph. At his return he shut the temple of Janus the fourth time, married Cleopatra (the daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra) unto Juba the story-writer, overthrown by Julius Cæsar in Africa, with a part of Mauritania and of Getulia, to reign there. He reduced into a province Gallogrecia and Lycaonia, which made a portion of a kingdom: and, by reason of his sickness, not able to be present at the marriage of his daughter Julia, whom Marcellus married, the son of Octavia his sister, he left all to the charge of Agrippa, and went to Rome. There being chosen Consul the tenth time, the Senate gave him absolute power over the estate and laws, to make and undo them at his pleasure. They did him greater honours than before, and gave Marcellus his nephew, before his time, great offices in the commonwealth: and to Tiberius his wife's son. He in token of thankfulness gave to everyone of the people ten crowns apiece. Whilst these matters were in hand, the Cantabrians and their neighbours revolted, by subtilty caught some of the

¹ took the same risk.

² join battle.

³ by auction.

⁴ eighth.

*Augustus
liberality
towards the
people.*

Romans, and cut their throats. Ælius Lamia, governor in those parts, to be revenged of this outrage, put all the whole country to fire and blood, destroyed some towns, and sold their young men by the drum. To be short, he followed them so hard, that he brought them in subjection. Ælius Gallus, governor of Egypt, almost about the same time, being sent by Augustus' commandment with ten thousand men, five hundred soldiers of Herod's guard, and fifteen hundred Nabateians under the conduct of a noble man of Arabia called Sylleus, he did nothing to be accounted of, but discover the country. But having lost the most part of his men within the deserts where this Sylleus brought them, and overcome the Sabeans in a battle, he was enforced to retire. Afterwards this Sylleus, for that he killed his king Oboda by treason, he was taken prisoner, and beheaded by the decree of the Senate.

12. Augustus being consul for the eleventh time, the plague was in Rome; and, for himself, he was grievously sick, but restored again to health by Antonius Musa his physician; the people therefore caused a statue to be set up to this Antonius, the Senate did him great honours, and, in favour of his profession, gave immunity to all others that from that time forth did practise physic. Furthermore, by many ceremonies they did shew the joy they had for the health of Augustus: and specially fathers of household, dying, expressly commanded their children to bring their sacrifices to the Capitol with a title in great letters, saying: THAT AT THE DAY OF THEIR DEATH THEY LEFT AUGUSTUS IN GOOD HEALTH. It was also ordained that from that time forth they should never put any man to death, as often as Augustus entered into the city. Shortly after he did associate with himself Calpurnius Piso in the consulship, who had followed the party of Pompey and of Brutus. Afterwards, when he was gone from Rome into the country, he made Lucius Cestius his deputy for him, an inward¹ friend of Brutus and of his memory. Whereat the Senate marvelling, by decree made him perpetual proconsul of the Roman empire, tribune of the people, and gave him power to assemble the Senate as often and when it pleased him. The people would have compelled him to have been dictator: but he bowing a knee, casting down his long robe, and shewing his breast, besought them to discharge him of so odious an estate². In the meantime he accepted the decree of the Senate, and the charge to cause corn to be brought in, because of the dearth that chanced in Rome. In the which he

*The people
of Rome are
glad for
Augustus'
health.*

¹ secret.

² dignity.

served his turn by Tiberius, created quæstor at the age of nineteen years. As for Marcellus his nephew, he was chosen Ædilis Curulis, who aided him to set forth all the magnificent pomp of plays, which he caused to be played before the people. Every man judged that he should be the successor of all his power : but this young man of great hope died shortly after, to the great grief of every man : and no man can tell whether it was of natural sickness, or of poison given him by the practices of Livia. A little before his death, Agrippa, impatient to bear the rising of this Marcellus whom he despised, went into Asia under colour¹ of another voyage. They say that Augustus, much troubled with sickness, returned to his first consultation, to put the commonwealth again into the hands of the Senate and people ; and for this cause he called for the senators and all the other magistrates, unto whom he gave an account of the empire ; and that was a little book containing the numbering of all the riches, towns, and provinces, allies, legions, armies by sea and by land, of all the kingdoms and countries tributary, of all the customs of the empire of Rome, that which was necessary to be leaved² or released. But being somewhat amended again, he changed his mind. And furthermore, having given audience to the ambassadors of Phrahartes king of the Parthians, which demanded a son of his brought by Tyridates unto Augustus, he sent back the child, and suffered Tyridates to remain at Rome, where he sumptuously entertained him. By this means he kept himself in friendship with the one and the other, and held the Parthians in suspense, to the end they should alter nothing. At the beginning of the next year following, under the consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and of L. Arruntius, the famine increasing at Rome, he wisely provided for it. And then the people would constrain him by force to accept the dictatorship, and threatened to set the palace on fire and to burn all the senators in it, if they refused to allow this decree. He would none of the office of dictatorship, and did refuse also to be censor, although that office had been void the space of 28 years. But forasmuch as Munacius Plancus and Æmilius Lepidus, who were chosen censors, deserved themselves to be censured, because of their discords, Augustus without the name took upon him to discharge it : and provided to reform infinite disorders that were in Rome, in apparel, countenances³, companies, and in the fight of fencers at the sharp⁴. At the same time Fannius Cæpio and L. Muræna, having conspired against him, and being

*Marcellus
Augustus'
nephew
dieth, to the
great grief
of all men.*

¹ pretence.

² levied.

*Augustus
reformeth
many disorders in ap-
parel, companies, fight
of fencers,
&c.*

³ signs of

rank.

⁴ with sharp
weapons.

¹ badly
treated.

² each other.

³ forced.

⁴ isle.

*Augustus
saileth into
Greece, and
into Asia,
and what he
did there.*

⁵ levied.
⁶ isles.

discovered by Castricius, were taken as they thought to have escaped, and put to death. In the meantime the Asturians and Cantabrians, ill intreated¹ by Carisius, they rebelled, but were overcome in a set battle, and the prisoners sold. The Cantabrians, preferring death before servitude, killed, burnt, and poisoned the one the other². The Asturians, being overcome the fourth time, did submit themselves, and their arms were taken from them. In the same time, Petronius, governor of Egypt, followed with 10,000 footmen, and with 800 horse, went to make war with the Ethiopians, which dwell under Egypt, who had invaded and ruined certain towns, overthrown and carried away the statues of Augustus. Thereupon he pursued them, and made them fly before him: took certain places upon them, and pierced far into their country: so that he inforced³ their queen to send her ambassadors unto Augustus (then wintering in the ile⁴ of Samos) to pray peace, which he granted them paying tribute.

13. At the beginning of the spring he prepared himself to give order for the affairs in the east; but because they that bent themselves for the consulship had almost put the city in alarm, and that in the end, notwithstanding the order he had set down, the people had chosen men whom Augustus feared: through the advice of Mæcenus, he made Agrippa come again to govern Rome in his absence, and married unto him his daughter Julia, Marcellus' widow. Now whilst Agrippa gave order for the affairs of the city, Augustus took sea, and having provided for the affairs of Sicilia, he went into Greece, did much good for the Lacedæmonians, and to the contrary, repressed the pride of the Athenians, from whom he took away the tribute they had leaved⁵ of the isles⁶ Ægina and Eretria. In the meantime, though he made little account of strangers' ceremonies, yet he made himself to be received into the fraternity of mysteries; and the ambassadors of Persia having caused the temple of Jupiter Olympian to be finished, begun of long time in Athens, they ordained that it should be dedicated to the spirit of Augustus. Being passed from thence into Asia, he gave order to his provinces and those of the people of Rome; punished the Cyziceniens that had killed the Roman citizens in their town. He imposed a tribute upon those of Tyre and Sidon, who had dealt badly, and brought them into the form of a province. He did much good unto the towns that had been faithful unto the commonwealth: to some of them he gave the right of burghesship of Rome, and to others

the same rights and privileges which the natural citizens of Rome had. He built up again the cities of Laodicea, and of Thyatira: he set them up of the ile¹ of Chio again, afflicted before by an earthquake; he did exempt them from all subsidies for six years. He restored certain realms unto their kings whom he had subdued: or else he did establish others anew, who came to attend him at his court as subjects, without any signs or tokens of royal dignity. He sent Tiberius into Armenia, to instal Tigranes unto his royal throne again, having been driven out of it. Tiberius returned thither, and having fought with the Armenians, he gave them Artavasdes to their king, who ruled not long. Phraates, king of the Parthians, being afraid they would set upon him, was very careful to get all the Romans together, which were taken after the overthrow of Crassus and Antonius; whom he sent, every man of them, unto Augustus, with all the standards and ensigns, and also his son and nephews for pledges of his faithful friendship unto the people of Rome. Augustus granted him peace, and then he came into the ile¹ of Samos, comforted Rhodes, replenished Corinth and Patras with a great number of men enfranchised, whom he made burgesses of Rome. In this place also there came unto him ambassadors from Porus and Pandion, two of the mightiest kings of the Indians, who prayed alliance and friendship with him, and brought him very rare presents. There came with them a philosopher of India called Zarmanus: who being brought to the city of Athens, burnt himself alive, as one Calamus did in the time of Alexander the Great.

¹ isle.

14. In this mean space the city of Rome was full of great trouble by the practices² of Egnatius Rufus, who by force would needs be chosen consul in Augustus' place being absent: who gave not him his voice³, but named Lucretius Vespillo, escaped from the proscription, as hath been spoken of before. But this put him in such a rage, that he conspired with M. Genucius and Plautius Rufus to kill Augustus. But they being discovered betimes, were imprisoned and executed by decree of the Senate: who made infinite numbers of honours unto Augustus at his return: howbeit he would not accept them all, but carried himself very modestly in every place where he was. The people chose him censor for five years, and perpetual consul: and at his request they granted triumph unto Cornelius Balbus, although he were no Roman born (for he was a Spaniard) by reason of his notable victories he had obtained as lieutenant of Augustus,

Rome full of troubles in Augustus' absence.
² plots.
³ vote.

Agrippa is sent to appease troubles in France and Spain.

¹ publicly.

² resolute-
ness.

³ opportunity.

Augustus would not make war without great and just cause.

⁴ barbarians.

Augustus reformeth abuses and disorders in Rome.

upon the Garamantes. Agrippa on the other side was sent into Gaul troubled by the invasions of the Germans, whom he ordered well enough. Then he led his army into Spain, troubled with the rebellion of the Cantabrians: the which came thus to pass. The prisoners Cantabrians, whom they had sold by the drum¹, by a complot they made together, cut their masters' throats, and then fled into their country, where they solicited others to take arms, got their fortresses into their hands, and set upon the Roman garrisons. Agrippa could by no means bring his soldiers thither; whether that they desired to take rest, or that the resolution² of the Cantabrians did astonish them. But after that he had brought them to his hand, he marched directly against the enemies: who had the better at the first encounter, and the Romans were well beaten. But they being rebuked and punished by Agrippa, who gave them barley for wheat, he returned again to fight. But then the Cantabrians that bare arms were all cut in pieces, the rest disarmed, and drawn from the mountain to dwell in the plain. Augustus was saluted emperor or sovereign captain, because of this victory: but Agrippa modestly refused triumph, and within a while after he overcame the Pannonians also. The year following, the Getes and Daces being at civil wars, Lentulus that had subdued them before, counselled Augustus not to lose this occasion³: for he might easily subdue these barbarous people being thus divided. But Augustus not being of the mind to make any wars at all with any nation, without great and just cause (although there were more hope of gain than appearance of loss), he answered: "There was no cause for him to do so:" adding also, "that those that sought a little gain with great loss and danger were like unto those that would angle with a golden hook, the which breaking and falling into the water, no fish is worth the value of it. And therefore that the barbarous⁴ were to be left to their own miseries: and that by their bloodshed by their own companions, they were more than enough punished for the ills they had done to the Romans, who ought not to begin first to do evil."

15. In the same year Augustus, being very desirous to put his hand to the reformation of abuses in Rome, and that effectually, he joined with him his nephew Agrippa in the state of a censor, and did establish him tribune for five years. First of all he began to correct some disorders that were in the Senate, he reformed the knights, spectacles, and plays, and the manner of

sutes¹ for public offices. He set fines upon their heads that would not marry, and bestowed much upon them that had wives and children. He gave unto Hortensius Hortalius five and twenty thousand crowns, to procure him to take a wife, that he might raise up issue to that noble house and family of the Hortenses. He ordained also that maidens should be twelve years old at the least before they married, and suffered them to kill adulterers taken with the fact² without punishment.

And for military discipline, he looked very carefully unto that. And because a knight of Rome had cut off his own son's thumbs, for that he should not go to the war, he made him to be sold by the drum, and all his goods. But because the regrators³ were greedy to seize upon them, he made them cease the sale, and put the knight into the hands of one of his bondmen enfranchised, and was contented to drive him out of Rome. Furthermore he procured that the Senate should not be kept but with great reverence: that the senators should come together as into a temple of devotion, and that no decree should pass, but in the presence of 400 senators, if it might be: that no man should be made free of Rome but upon great consideration. For the rest, he and Agrippa gave the people the pleasure of secular yearly games, which had not been seen an hundred years before. But he took very great care that there should no insolencies⁴ be committed. He punished the players in divers sorts that behaved themselves more licentious than became them. And when one of them amongst them called him lord, he shewed the people with his voice, his eyes, and his hand, that he was not well pleased withal: and the next morning he published a sharp edict, forbidding all persons expressly to say so, and would never suffer that any of his should give him this name. But these plays being ended, he adopted Caius and Lucius the sons of Agrippa. In all this great business, the Sicambres, Usipetes, and Tenchteres, people of Germany, surprised certain Romans in their territory, hanged⁵ them up, passed over the Rhine, spoiled Gaul, overthrew certain horsemen, and following their purpose, overcame M. Lollius proconsul of Gaul, and took away an ensign from him. Yet though he were a man of small action and very courteous, nevertheless he was revenged of them, and coming upon the invaders, fought with them, and drave them beyond the Rhine. On the other side, C. Lentulus made war with the Daces, and killed three of their chief leaders with a great number of men: and afterwards he established a garrison

¹ suits.

Augustus severe against adulterers.
² in the act.
Augustus punisheth a Roman knight for disabling his son.
³ retail dealers.

⁴ wanton acts.

⁵ hung.

Divers rebels subdued.

¹ Danube.

The covetousness of Augustus his soliciter cause of great troubles.

² steward.³ against.⁴ concerning.

Drusus sent by Augustus overcometh the cruel Rhetians.

⁵ sixth.⁶ East.

by the river of Danuby¹, to stop the incursions of this wild nation. Augustus seeing these troubles, disposed of the affairs of Italy to go into Gaul, to rid himself of these griefs, and by his absence to make his presence more honourable. At that same time, divers peoples inhabiting upon the river of Danuby¹, rebelled: but Augustus' lieutenants bestirred them so well, that they were all compelled to seek peace. At that time also all Gaul was in commotion, and that in divers sorts. But the covetousness of Licinius Enceladus, made free, and soliciter² of the affairs of Augustus, was cause of all this mischief. For he having commanded the people to furnish the tribute for every month, he had put fourteen months in the year for twelve. So being accused to his master for money ill gotten, although all the world cried out of³ him, yet he found the means to escape well enough. For after he had gotten an infinite mass of gold and silver together, he brought it to Augustus, saying, he had never other intention but to take from the Gauls the means to rebel. For all this Augustus withdrew him from thence, and sent Tiberius thither to settle all things in good estate again. Almost during these commotions and outrageous dissensions, the Rhetians, near unto the lake of Como, brake into Gaul Cisalpine, and took out of Italy store of booty. They were a people separated from all others, and so cruel, that, having taken any place from the Romans, they killed all the male children, and further, did ask their soothsayers of⁴ women with child: and if they said she was great with a boy, they presently ran her through, and killed her and the fruit of her womb. Augustus would not endure these outrages, but sent Drusus the son of Livia against them, who drave them out of Italy, having overcome them in a set battle, near under Trent. They say that their women shewed themselves so cruel in this fight, that, their darts failing them, they took their little children by their legs, and did most barbarously force themselves to smite their enemies in the face. Those that were driven out of Italy would have entered into Gaul, but they were repulsed by Tiberius. In the end, these people and their allies were constrained to submit themselves.

16. Augustus sent a colony unto Nismes in Languedoc and made them free burgesses of Rome. It is thought that he sent another unto Arles, of the sixt⁵ legion: and one of the second unto Orange. Some make report of these colonies in the time of Tiberius. M. Agrippa on the other side, he gave order for the affairs of Asia, and of all the Orient⁶, where he behaved himself

so well, that all that were friends to the people of Rome were of better courage than before, and all their enemies so valiantly suppressed, that Augustus was saluted the tenth time sovereign captain. But Agrippa, after his wonted manner, would have no triumph: which was the cause of the loss of this custom; and others, following his example, were contented from thenceforth with the ornaments of triumph. But of another side, the Pannonians, the Genoveses¹, and those of Piemont² rebelling, they were subdued by the lieutenants of Augustus: who builded two cities in testimony of his victory against these two last people: whereof Turin (called Augusta Pretoria) was one, and Genua³ the other.

¹ Genoese.
² Piedmont.

³ Genoa.

Augustus returning to Rome, succeedeth Lepidus in the estate of chief priest.

⁴ sixth.

Agrippa Augustus his nephew dieth, and Julia his widow is married to Tiberius.

17. Augustus having pacified Gaul, stayed the invasions of the Germans, and quenched the rebellion of Spain, he left Drusus with authority and his army upon the Rhine, and came to Rome as Agrippa did out of Asia, and became extremely sick of the gout. Lepidus died at the same time, to whom Augustus succeeded in the estate of chief bishop, and made sumptuous spectacles and sights unto the people. He burnt all the books of divination and prophecy, except those of the Sibyls: and yet he kept them not all. He reformed the calendar, and ordained that there should be no leap-years for twelve years following. He suffered that the sixt⁴ month, then called Sextilis, should be called Augustus after his name. All that year was spent in plays and pastimes, saving that Augustus (having been sick) caused all that he had done in his government to be rehearsed before the Senate. He took a review of the senators, and confirmed his nephew Agrippa in the estate of a tribune for five years more. But shortly after, this great person, being returned from a journey out of Pannonia, whither he was gone to prevent disorders that were likely to be renewed, he fell sick and died, before Augustus could come in time. That was a marvellous grief unto him: and not knowing now on whom he should bestow his daughter Julia, in the end he chose Tiberius his wife's son, and married them together: but they continued not long in good terms together. From thenceforth Tiberius and Drusus dealt almost in all the affairs of war, and Tiberius especially after the death of the other: of whom we shall speak to best purpose in the life of Tiberius, yet we will briefly note it here. So then Tiberius went and made war in Pannonia, risen by means of the death of Agrippa: yet he made an end of it, killed some of them, sold and subjected the rest: and compelled all that

¹ Germany.² strait,
strict.³ owed.*Drusus
overcometh
the confident
presumptuous
rebels.*⁴ horses.⁵ straitly,
closely.⁶ centurious.

people to submit themselves unto the people of Rome. Drusus on the other side made war in high and low Almain¹, and brought the most part of these nations unto some reason: and afterwards he returned to Rome: where Augustus held so straight² a hand to bring the Senate to order, that there were few men desired to be of the Senate, and many to the contrary that gave up their offices. But Augustus compelled those that were of age, of quality and sufficiency, and gave order also that the dignity of the tribunes of the people should remain entire: suffering those notwithstanding which had this office, their time expired, to be amongst the senators, or with knights. As for the towns of Asia afflicted with the earthquake, he paid of his own to the commonwealth, the yearly tribute which they ought³. And for the regard of those which were of his provinces, he freed them from all imposts for six years, and gave them of Palestine a great quantity of corn, which sustained great want and famine. In the meantime Drusus passed over the Rhine, made war with the Usipites, Sicambrians, Tenchteres, Cattians, Cherusians, and Suabians, whom he overthrew in divers encounters: and especially in a great battle, where were killed a very great number. For these people were gathered together with such a confidence of victory, that they had already made agreement amongst themselves for division of the booty. But specially at the last battle, the Cherusians should have the horse⁴, the Suabians they should have the baggage, and the Sicambrians the prisoners. And yet to bind themselves more straightly⁵ together, they burnt 20 centeners⁶ of the Romans. And this was the cause that the battle was so long and cruelly fought betwixt them: yet in the end the victory remained to Drusus, who gave the prisoners and all the booty to the soldiers, making the horse⁴, baggage, and captives to be sold to them that would offer most. All the field, for a great league and a half of length, was strewed with dead bodies, and they found in the enemy's camp great store of iron chains prepared by them for the Romans: howbeit they served for them. Drusus set up a token of triumph, and was called *imperator* of his troops in the field where the battle was pitched. Afterwards he built above fifty castles upon the rivers of Meuse, Visurge, and of the Rhine. Tiberius on the other side was in Dalmatia, where he brought them under that rose in arms against them. The triumph of *Ovatio* was decreed to them both, and Augustus was saluted by the Senate *imperator* or sovereign captain, and

this for the twelfth time. But in these businesses, the war was hot in Thracia, and more than ever before: all the provinces being in rebellion under the conduct of Bulogæses, who had killed the king Rhacuspolis, an ally of the people of Rome, driven out his uncle and lieutenant Rhymetalces out of Thracia into Chersonesus. L. Piso, governor of Pamphilia, went against them, and at the first encounter had not the advantage, but in the second he overcame them utterly. Drusus, having made a voyage to Rome, to celebrate the birthday of Augustus in great magnificence, whilst his troops reposed themselves in their garrisons; about the spring he returned into Germany, overcame the Suabians, gave them a king: then he invaded the country of the Marcomannes, fought with them divers times, killed a great number of them, and made all the rest subject to the Romans. Because of this victory, and of that of Piso, Augustus was called *imperator* the thirteenth time. Almost in this time he put Proculus to death in prison, one that he loved best of all his bondmen made free: being convinced¹ of many adulteries. He made the thighs of his secretary Thallus to be broken, for the sum of an hundred crowns which he took for shewing a secret letter. In this meantime Tiberius continued war in Dalmatia and Pannonia, moved through the great imposts, whereof the people complained. but in the end he subdued them, and built many castles upon the river of Danuby to stay the invasions of the enemies. Piso also in Thracia overcame the Mæsiens, and Bastarnes, and brought away a great number of prisoners, who bit their iron chains for anger, and most impatiently did bear their servitude. Drusus made the Cattians subject also, then he came to Lyons to meet with Augustus: from whence they both returned together into Italy. They had a custom also that yearly on the first day of January (though Augustus were absent) all the senators, officers of justice, and others of mean estate, brought him new-year's gifts to the Capitol: and also every one cast a piece of gold or silver into the lake Curtius, for a vow that they had made to his health. He did bestow all these new-year's gifts to buy many rich statues of the gods, which he set up in all the cross-streets.

18. In the five and thirtieth year of his principality, under the consulate of Drusus Nero, and of Quintus Crispinus, Drusus having subdued a great part of Germany, and preparing to go further, a vision having the shape of a great woman, that spake bigger and louder than a man's voice could do, said to him in

*Proculus an
adulterer
put to death
by Augustus.
Thallus
punished for
disclosing
secrets of
state.
¹ convicted.*

*Drusus
dieth, in
whose place
Tiberius
succeedeth
in the
charge of
wars.
1 imme-
diately.*

Latin: "Go no further:" which was a sign of his death, the which followed incontinently¹ after. This young nobleman of an excellent hope, being but thirty years old, Augustus had put him in the roll of his heirs, and made an oration in his praise. Afterwards all the charge of the wars of Germany was committed unto Tiberius. And for Augustus, he, being the same year called for a witness in certain causes, did patiently suffer any man to ask him, or refuse him, as he had oftentimes done before. One day as he spake in full Senate, one of the senators told him: "I understood nothing:" another, "I would speak against it, if I might be heard." Another time being weary with the contestations of certain pleaders, he went in choler out of his seat. But some began to say unto him, that it was lawful for senators to speak freely to any matter that came before them: and that no man was ever offended for the replies or contestations of any man.

² shield.

*Augustus
pleadeth the
cause of an
old solāier,
who had
deserved
well.*

19. Nonius Asprenas, one of his greatest friends, was accused by Cassius Severus to have poisoned an hundred and thirty bidden guests at a banquet. Augustus did not recommend² him, but let the senators alone, who banished Cassius. An old soldier upon complaint being brought before the senators, and in danger of his life, besought Augustus to help him. And when he had given him an advocate to defend him, the soldier opened his breast, and shewing the marks of the wounds which he had received in the battle of Actium, said unto him: "But I beseech thee, Augustus, consider that I have received these wounds here upon my body for to defend thee, and would put no other in my place." Augustus, moved with these words, appeared in justice, and pleaded this man's cause, the which he wan. Soon after he was saluted sovereign captain for the fourteenth time; because of the victories which Tiberius and Sextus Apuleius had obtained in Germany and in Italy. And the authority which had been given him for ten years over the state of the commonwealth being expired, was continued unto him for ten years following. Then he did greatly enlarge the bounds of the territory of Rome, and having advanced Salustius Crispus (the son of the historian) unto the place which Mæcenas held, the Roman knight, his faithful friend and principal counsellor, deceased in those days: and by Tiberius continued to bring the Germans under: for the victory of³ whom, and also for that he had subdued all the people inhabiting alongst⁴ the Alps, the Senate had set up a token of triumph, and granted triumph to Tiberius.

³ over.

⁴ along.

Under the second consulate of Claudius Nero, and of Calpurnius Piso, Caius and Lucius, the young sons of Augustus, were called young princes, and appointed consuls, although they were but of tender years, and under fourteen years old. This pleased Augustus greatly, though he fained¹ to take no pleasure in it. Furthermore, he then made an edict touching slanderous libels, declaring who should have the hearing of those crimes, and how they should be punished: although he himself cared not much, and patiently suffered they should gibe at him; contented to answer, by open defence, unto the reproaches and mockeries they made of him. They scattered abroad one day in the palace many bills² of paper of cruel injuries³ against him. This moved him not at all, neither did he trouble himself much to answer it: but instead of searching it out, he did advise that hereafter they should have an eye upon those, that by little books or epigrams published (under false names) scandal against any man. Tiberius wrote a round⁴ letter to him one day, to the end he should carry a straighter⁵ hand upon that: but he sent him these words: "I pray thee, my friend, let not thy youth overrule thee in this matter, nor be not so hot, though I be evil spoken of by some. It is enough if we gain this point, that no man can hurt us." Afterwards he divided the city of Rome into fourteen regions, and two hundred and ten streets; and in every of them he established officers to see that all things should be maintained as they ought to be, and to report unto the prince any memorable thing that should happen. He provided for the violence of fire, he built up the temples that were burnt or ruined by time: and gave at one time unto the temple of Jupiter Capitoline, for the renewing of the same, sixteen thousand pounds of gold, and of rich and costly pearls, to the sum of twelve hundred thousand crowns.

20. Now Caius and Lucius, his young sons, growing apace, and Julia his daughter beginning to be too well known for her wantonness, Tiberius, that could no longer endure her, nor these two young princes (and because he would have the Romans a little long for him), he demanded and obtained leave with extremity⁶, threatening to kill himself with famine, if they did not grant him: and so went to study at Rhodes. In the meantime Augustus provided for the affairs of Istria, divided Italy into eleven provinces: and, because he doubted⁷ they did envy his greatness, he chose nine Pretorian cohorts for his guard, of the which he kept three of them in Rome, lodged here and there in

¹ feigned.*Augustus maketh an edict against infamous libels; and his patient suffering of them against himself.*² scrolls.³ reproaches.⁴ plain spoken.⁵ stricter, stricter.*Augustus provideth against the violence of fire.*⁶ difficulty.⁷ feared.

¹ nearest.² impute.

*Augustus
his patient
forbearance
of ill
tongues.*

³ desire,
wish.

⁴ pretence.
⁵ unruly.

⁶ East.⁷ plotted.

⁸ maintained.
*A parricide
justly pun-
ished.*

houses, so long as they were in their quarter: and the six others were quartered in the next¹ villages unto it. He also erected new offices, to impart to so many men more the honours and charges of the commonwealth. At the same time when, before the Senate, they did object² many crimes unto Aemilius Ælianus, and amongst other things that he spake ill of Augustus: he, turning to the accuser, said unto him as in choler: "Prove me that, and I will make Ælianus know that I have a tongue: for I will say more of him than he hath spoken of me." He made no further inquiry afterwards, and shewed himself very gentle and courteous also unto Cassius of Padua, a man of a mean estate: who having spoken openly at a table, that he lacked no good will³ nor courage to kill Augustus: he contented himself to impose this only punishment upon him, as to drive him out of Rome. From his eleventh consulship unto the twelfth, there passed seventeen years: all which time he divers times had refused this charge: but now he demanded it and obtained it. His intention was to advance Caius his little son to great dignity, whom he caused to be proclaimed young prince, and sent him to see the provinces and armies, in the title of a proconsul. Then he commanded him to go into Asia, having given him for governors Lollius and Sulpitius Quirinus. He himself in the mean time remained at Rome, where he established extraordinary guards, under colour⁴ to keep thieves and masterless⁵ men from offering violence, whilst the armies abroad were far off. The year following, Caius having travelled in divers parts of the Orient⁶, made peace with Phraates, king of the Parthians, and brought away (hostages for assurance thereof) the king's three brethren, and all the princes of the blood. The which was practised⁷ by the means of the queen Thermusa, born in Italy, who being sent by Augustus for a gift unto Phraates, he fell so in love with her, and held her in such high estimation, that after she had brought him a son called Phraataces, he received her for his lawful wife. She, being desirous her son should possess the crown, drave the right heirs far off by means of this peace. And at the end of certain years Phraataces, who entertained⁸ it, killed his father, and possessed the kingdom. But he was not long in quiet possession, for the great lords conspired against him, and took from him his life and crown together. Furthermore Caius conquered Armenia, and shortly after Augustus demanded the thirteenth consulship, to the end to advance his little son Lucius as he had done Caius. He sent him proconsul into Spain, but

he fell sick by the way, and stayed almost a year at Marseilles. Though these two brethren were far enough off Tiberius, who kept himself as a simple scholar at Rhodes, yet they loved not him greatly, nor he them : for which purpose the process¹ served not much against their mother Julia, banished because of her adulteries in the isle of Pandatarie. Shortly after her daughter, also called Julia, married unto Lucius Paulus, was also convinced² of the same crime that her mother was : and was banished into another isle of the sea Adriatic, called Tremera. This affliction, so near unto him, marvellously grieved Augustus, who could not bear it but in mourning, and devouring himself with sorrow. Then all the provinces of the Roman empire being in peace, Augustus shut up the third time the temple of Janus : and the King of kings, the Saviour of the world, being born of a virgin in Judea, appearing amongst men, he shut up the oracles of all the Paynim³ gods, as the oracle of Delphes among others was constrained to confess, and never spake afterwards. Wherewith Augustus being astonished, caused a great altar to be set up in the Capitol with an inscription, signifying that it was 'The altar of the God first born.' The year following, to stay the violent course of great usuries, and to raise up again many families decayed, he put into the exchange two millions and a half of gold, that is to say, five and twenty hundred thousand crowns ; and suffered private men to take of it for three years without interest, putting in pawn into the exchequer lands and possessions, being twice as much worth as the principal : and condemned the usurers that had taken interest more than Julius Cæsar had ordained, to pay four times as much : and, deducting out of the principal that which had been paid over and above the tax of the law, he gave the debtors three years' space to pay it, at three equal times from year to year. He made provision also for distributing of corn, and brought it to 200,000 heads of those that should come to have any of it : and did wisely remedy divers discontentments of the people. Shortly after Lucius Cæsar, being 16 years of age, died at Marseilles : which was the cause that, Tiberius being reconciled for some other occasion⁴ with Caius, he obtained leave to return from Rhodes to Rome ; with condition (for so was Caius' will) that he should meddle with no affairs of estate⁵, and that he should remain yet the rest of the year at Rhodes. As touching Augustus, he laboured to recreate himself with his friends, and did willingly see learned men, and amongst others T. Livius, that renowned

¹ action.

*Julia the
elder and
younger
banished,
whose lewd-
ness was a
great grief
to Augustus.
² convicted.*

*At the birth
of Christ
war ceaseth,
and the ora-
cles of Pay-
nim gods
are mute.
³ pagan.*

*Augustus
represseth
usurers.*

⁴ reason.⁵ state.

*Augustus
visiteth
learned men.*

¹ affair.² nicknames.³ attack.⁴ plainly.
⁵ convicted.*Tiberius re-
turneth to
Rome, and
Caius dieth.*
⁶ lasted.⁷ impatient-
ly.
⁸ domestic.

historian; the poets, Virgil and Horace; but especially Virgil, who was one of his most familiar friends. Which maketh men think that Ovid committed some great fault, since he was a banished man so long, and that he could obtain no grace, though the greatest men were suitors for him. And yet the historians say Augustus was not angry, as appeareth by the fact¹ of Timagenes the historian: who having dispersed abroad some pleasant by-names² against Augustus, Livia, and their familiars (whereat every one of them laughed, it was so pleasant an encounter³), Augustus was contented to advise him to moderate his tongue from thenceforth, and did only forbid him his house and familiarity, suffering him to wax old in the company of Asinius Pollio. He did greatly support some also that were accused to have sealed a false will, and mingled with the marks of condemnation and absolution a third, pardoning all those that it should seem had through ignorance sinned in this fact⁴. One, being evidently⁴ convinced⁵ to have killed his father, was even at the point to be sewed up in a leather sack, according to the custom, and thrown into the sea: Augustus, desirous this cursed wretch should not be thus handled, put the answer in his mouth, in asking of him also: "Surely I believe thou hast not killed thy father?" The son of Tarius being charged to have conspired against the life of his father, Augustus was sent for into Tarius' house, to counsel him what were best to be done: he gave the father counsel to banish him far off from all knowledge. And when Tarius would have made Augustus his heir, he refused it, and obtained that the son should be banished unto Marseilles; and that during his father's life he should have a pension to maintain him withal.

21. In the 44 year of the monarchy of Augustus, Tiberius, having been absent the space of eight years, came again to Rome, where he lived, and meddled with no matters. But that held⁶ not long: for in the same year Caius, upon whom Augustus principally looked, died in Lycia: and some say, that Livia knew well enough of what death: for she greatly desired the advancement of her son Tiberius, knowing that Augustus did not greatly love the last son of Agrippa and Julia, by reason of the rudeness of his nature. Augustus took the death of his son Caius very unpatiently⁷. He made his schoolmaster and domestical⁸ servants to be drowned: and furthermore, he disposed all the forces of the empire and the legions amongst the provinces in commodious places, as well by sea as by land. After-

wards he obtained the tribuneship for Tiberius, more through the procurement¹ of Livia than otherwise: although in the end he was content to advance him, to make his memory to be so much the more be desired², when they had made proof of his successor; whom he knew better than any other, and never spake anything well; but he spied always some cross thing in him, of a dangerous nature he had. And yet some judge, that Augustus did repute the virtues in Tiberius to be greater than his imperfections; considering also that, in the oration he made, his words tended to this end, that he adopted Tiberius in favour of the commonwealth. But before he would declare this adoption, he compelled Tiberius to adopt his nephew Germanicus the son of Drusus, and he adopted (with Tiberius) Agrippa Posthumus, the son of M. Agrippa. Then to prevent the complots³ of some of the chiefest of Rome, he made Tiberius to be chosen tribune for ten years following. That was the cause that in Rome they began to speak well of Tiberius, whom they saw by that means somewhat stepped into Augustus' place, so soon as he should happen to die. Furthermore, at the instance of the people of Rome and Tiberius himself, Augustus did tolerate⁴ the banishment of his daughter Julia: howbeit for no entreaty he would ever revoke⁵ her again. So, after the decease of Augustus, she was destitute of all help, and Tiberius made her die for want, in an unknown place.

22. The year following, Valerius Messala, and C. Cinna, little-son⁶ of the great Pompey, were elected consuls. Cinna, that took part with his cousins⁷, was taken prisoner, and brought to Augustus, who gave him life and advanced him. This notwithstanding, he was afterwards attainted and convinced⁸ to have conspired against the life of Augustus, whom through the counsel of Livia he sent for into his chamber, and gently rebuked him for all the good deeds he had done to him: pardoned him this last offence, and afterwards raised him to the dignity of a consul, being sorry that he durst not demand it. After that, Cinna became his faithful friend and servant, and bequeathed all his goods by will unto Augustus, against whom never any man conspired more⁹. His lieutenants in Africa obtained some victories, and Tiberius continued the war in Germany, from whence he oftentimes returned to Rome, to keep himself in Augustus' good favour. Who having limited the pay, recompence, commodity¹⁰, and time that the soldiers should have, he procured for some time the good of the commonwealth, which had con-

Tiberius advanced, and to what end.
¹ plotting.

² regretted.

³ plots.

⁴ moderate.

⁵ recal.
Julia, an adulteress, through want dieth in banishment.

⁶ grandson.
⁷ relatives.

⁸ proved.

Augustus by his lenity winneth Cinna, a traitor.
⁹ afterwards,

¹⁰ provision.

Augustus expelleth drones out of the commonwealth.

Divers rebellions appeased.
¹ as regarded.

² as it were.

The Thracians overthrown by the Romans.

³ command.

tinued longer in prosperity, if his successors had better entertained military discipline. Afterwards, to resist the mutinies of the people by reason of famine, he established *corps-de-guard* in all the places of Rome, and drove out a multitude of unprofitable mouths. And when corn came again to bear the ordinary price, he was about to abolish the distribution of corn which the commonwealth made: because that the people, trusting unto that, made no reckoning to plough their lands. At the same time many towns in diverse provinces were inclined to rebel, which caused the Senate to make a decree, that the governors of provinces should command two years one after another, and should not depart thence till their successors were arrived. The Illyrians also began to rise, but they were suppressed immediately by Valerius Messalinus. For¹ Germany, all were subject under the name of the Romans, except the Marcomannes, and their king Maroboduus, a valiant and wise man, that kept himself and his people in good discipline, having always an army ready of threescore and ten thousand footmen, and four thousand horse, all the which he trained and put in readiness against his neighbours, to defend him the better against the Romans, if they came to assail him. Tiberius prepared himself with twelve legions to make war with him; but being constrained to go against the Illyrians, he made agreement with Maroboduus, that sought peace and quietness; and so marched where necessity called him. For the Illyrians, to the number of eight hundred thousand men and upwards, rose in manner² all at an instant, and mustered up in short time, with such order in their affairs and warlike exploits, that they possessed and brought in subjection almost all Macedon, and put Augustus into a marvellous perplexity, because they prepared themselves to come into Italy. Hereupon Tiberius is chosen to go against them, the which he did with so good direction and warlike judgment, that he dispersed their army. But now, concerning the country of Thracia, there the army of the Romans was put to flight: yet taking heart again, they returned to meet with their enemies, and obtained an honourable victory. For which cause they called Augustus *imperator* or sovereign captain the sixteenth time. The Illyrians made head again better than before under the conduct³ of Bato Desidiates; they made violent and strange invasions, and Tiberius never came against them. Whereupon Augustus, conceiving an evil opinion, despatched Germanicus, the son of Drusus, to go into Illyria with a com-

plete army. On the other side, Agrippa Posthumus shewed himself so insolent, and committed so many follies, that Augustus could no longer endure them, and therefore he disavowed and disinherited him, confiscated his goods, and confined him to Surrentum: where being more audacious than before, he banished him into the isle of Planasia, near unto Corsica: and caused the Senate to make an ordinance that he should remain there till his death. By this means every man began to regard¹ Tiberius, who was also declared the son and colleague of Augustus by decree of the Senate, who committed unto him all the armies and provinces of the empire. Livia his mother did help him greatly in all these affairs. Furthermore, he would not stir out of Illyria until he had made an end of this war, which continued three whole years.

23. Now at the arrival of Germanicus, the chieftains of the Illyrians came suddenly to assail the camp of the Romans: who, feigning to be afraid, staid till the enemy came to charge them in disorder. Then they came out with fury against them, killed a great number of them, and made the rest to fly. Germanicus wan² another battle against the Dalmatians, and pursuing his victory, he followed them so near at the heels, that they submitted themselves and demanded peace. By reason whereof they gave Augustus the name of *Imperator* the eighteenth time. Bato Desidiates came to salute Tiberius set in his tribunal chair, without holding down his head, or any way imbasing³ himself: and being asked why, after so many battles lost, he did yet rebel again? he answered boldly again, that the Romans were the cause of it: who, instead of shepherds, had sent them wolves to keep their flock. Peace was granted unto the Dalmatians upon certain conditions. And as for the Breucians which continued their war, they were overthrown in many encounters, and at the length brought to subjection by Plautius Silvanus, who triumphed. Their king Bato Beucrus had betrayed and delivered unto the Romans another great captain of the Illyrians called Pinnetes: and afterwards he was delivered himself by his own men unto Bato Desidiates, who killed him with his own hand: and then fortified himself in Dalmatia, where having made head almost a year and a half against the armies of Tiberius and Germanicus, he won and lost many battles: at the last, being able to hold out no longer, he sent his son to demand peace of Tiberius, promising to yield himself and his into the hands of Augustus. He obtained safe conduct, and came by

Agrippa Posthumus, for his follies and insolencies banished.

¹ respect.

Germanicus overcometh the Illyrians and Dalmatians.

² won.

³ debasing.

Oppressors causers of rebellion.

night unto Tiberius' camp: who gave him very gracious entertainment, and many rich presents. Afterwards he made him be brought to Ravenna, and was also gently used, because that in an encounter where he was inclosed¹, and in danger of his life, he had given him means to escape and save himself. And because of the divers victories obtained by Germanicus and Tiberius, Augustus was saluted for the nineteenth and twentieth time *Imperator* or sovereign captain. And for² the Pannonians, their young men, that had so many times threatened Italy, were constrained to bring all their arms together on a heap, as they were commanded, and to fall on their knees before Tiberius to demand peace of him. He received them into grace, and sent them home to their houses, disposing his garrisons in strong places, under the charge of Marcus Lepidus. The glory of Tiberius was yet more noble, and the anguishes of Augustus increased, by the overthrow of Quintilius Varus: who, being gone to assail Arminius, prince of the Cherussians, was enclosed in marishes³, and utterly overthrown with three Roman legions, that were slain in the place: and for himself, fearing to fall alive into the hands of the Cherussians, he killed himself with his own hand. The victors did never so cruelly handle the Romans as those whom they might know were common counsellors and pleaders. For at the beginning, when Varus came to command their country, where they knew not what process⁴ meant, he persuaded himself he should tame them well enough, using the same form and order of process there amongst them, as they did at Rome. So he had a judgment-seat, and all matters were pleaded before him. Some of them amongst the rest, being very subtle, seemed to esteem much this pleading; and to bring him asleep, they of purpose⁵ moved occasion of process and suit one against the other: and then they went before him, and by Romans themselves, whose tongues they borrowed, they demanded justice. Then they rejoiced not a little when they could catch any of these counsellors: for they put out the eyes of some of them, cut off the hands of others of them; and they say that they cut out the tongue of one, and afterwards sewed up his mouth; and he that held the tongue in his hand said unto him: "O viper, at the last yet thou wilt leave⁶ whistling." Augustus was so astonished at this loss, that at times he would beat his head against the wall, crying out, "Varus, give me my legions." Certain years after, Germanicus buried the bones of the Romans that were killed in this overthrow. The year following

¹ surrounded.² as for.*Quintilius Varus overthrown.*³ marshes.⁴ action-at-law.⁵ purposely.*The Roman counsellors cruelly handled by their enemies.*⁶ leave off.

Tiberius returned into Germany, and, to keep¹ the passages of the Rhine, Augustus served his turn with² the slaves enfranchised, which caused afterwards great confusions and seditions in the Roman army. In all these stirs, two men of no worth, called Andasius and Epicadus, conspired to take away Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and Agrippa Posthumus, from the places where they were, and to bring them to some legions, to alter the estate³. But they were soon discovered, and punished for their rashness. Some others also committed the like fond⁴ enterprises, but they vanished away without any effect.

24. Furthermore Augustus, being now old and broken, began to leave all great companies, cashiered⁵ his guards, and sent them to garrisons far off, to the end they should not go about to make any change. He gave commandment that the Gauls and Germans should depart the city by a day prefixed. In the meantime Tiberius, having divided his army into four parts, entered into Germany, about five and twenty leagues into the country beyond the Rhine, and put all to fire and blood: then he retired, fearing some encounter of Varus. Touching Augustus, he qualified some strict laws against the unmarried, the gifts of the husband to the wife, the banquets and suits: he did forbid the divines⁶ to answer the vain question of those, that would know how long they should live: and he suffered the knights (if they were challenged) to fight at the sharp⁷. Germanicus being returned to Rome, obtained the consulship, and Tiberius triumphed of⁸ the Illyrians, Pannonians, Dalmatians, and Germans: followed with his lieutenant Germanicus, Vibius Posthumus, Plautius Silvanus, and Marcus Lepidus, with triumphing robes. But before he went up to the Capitol, he went out of his charret⁹ and fell down on his knees before Augustus. Then he made a dinner for all the people, and had a thousand tables set up for them, and gave to every one of them seven crowns and a half. Under the consulship of C. Silius and of Munatius Plancus, Augustus, having obtained ten years with Tiberius to provide for the affairs of the commonwealth, to the end to quench many false rumours, about sixteen months before his death, he made his will, and gave it to the Vestal virgins to keep. Because his sickness kept him from coming to the Senate, he prayed the senators to think of some means to entertain¹⁰ the men of war. Which they having well considered, found no better means than that which he himself had found out, to wit, of the twentieth part of the inheritances: and they all

¹ guard.² employed.

Andasius and Epicadus seeking to restore Julia and Agrippa, are punished.

³ government.⁴ foolish.⁵ cashiered.

Augustus his acts in his old age.

⁶ sooth-sayers.⁷ with sharp weapons.⁸ over.⁹ chariot.

Augustus entertaineth the people bountifully.

¹⁰ maintain.

Augustus falleth sick and dieth, appointing Tiberius for his successor by his last will.

¹ spies.

Augustus died according to his desire.

Augustus' liberality at his death.

agreed unto it. The next year following, he went (as they say) to see Agrippa in his isle of Planasia, the which troubled Livia much, for she knew what was past. At the same time he and Tiberius took muster of the Roman citizens; and shortly after he fell sick, whereof they recite many causes. But thereupon he went into the country unto some places of pleasure, where he mended a little, and passed the time away prettily merry, carrying Tiberius with him, whom he would have brought on his way to Benevent, from whence he went into Illyria. At his return his sickness increased, that he was fain to stay at Nola, and sent for Tiberius and talked with him a long time very privately, and after that did never anything of importance: although the historians do not agree whether Tiberius was come before his departure or not. For Livia had set spies¹ in the house he lay sick in, and on the highways, giving it out abroad that Augustus was well: and on the other side sending messages upon messages unto Tiberius, fame spreading it abroad that Augustus was dead, and that Tiberius held his place. Augustus, being at the point to give up the ghost, made himself to be combed, and speaking to his friends, asked if nobody made any noise without. So he exhorted them to rejoice with him, for that he had so happily played the comedy of this human life. Then having sent them all out of his chamber, he asked if Livia, Drusus' daughter, were in health: and so, embracing his wife, said these words unto her: "Farewell, Livia, behave thyself well, and remember our marriage:" and suddenly went away, making a sweet end, which he always desired, as often as he heard talk of those that died quietly. He died in the same town, and in the same chamber that his father Octavius died in, and lived near unto the age of threescore and sixteen years.

25. His corpse being brought to Rome, the Vestal virgins brought out his will and testament, by the which he appointed Tiberius his heir, and gave him three parts of his goods, and his wife Livia the fourth part. Furthermore he gave to the people of Rome twelve hundred and fifty thousand crowns: to the five and thirty tribes, thirteen hundred, seven and thirty thousand, five hundred crowns: to every one of the Pretorian soldiers twenty-five crowns, to those of the town twelve crowns and a half. There were other legacies to be paid within a year, and he said that, all his legacies performed, he left his heirs four millions of gold. Within twenty years before his death, he did inherit of his friends' goods which had made him their heir,

about thirty-five millions of gold: howbeit that he had spent all that, with two patrimonies of his own, for maintenance of the commonwealth. With his testament there were three little libels¹ or codicils, the one² shewing what he would have done³ at his funerals⁴. The second was a brief⁵ of all his actions, which he commanded should be graven in copper tables before his tomb. The third contained the state of his revenue, and of the principal affairs of the empire. He had added to them also the names of the enfranchised bondmen and of the slaves, whom they might bring to account, and therewith he advised them to keep the limits of the empire which they had at that time. They carried him with great pomp into the field of Mars, where he was reduced into ashes, which they closed up in his sepulchre, built in his sixth consulship; after all these ceremonies the Senate appointed him a temple and divine honours, and he was placed in rank with the gods. To make his honour yet greater, one Numerius Atticus, that had been prætor, a man of great authority in Rome, was enticed by Livia, who gave him five and twenty thousand crowns, to swear before all the people, that he saw Augustus carried up into heaven. After his death, many speeches were diversely spoken of his life: some reprov- ing him as much as others commended him. But his successor made him oftentimes to be lamented. And so he was wont to say of Tiberius, "that he should leave to the Romans, in suc- cession of the empire, a successor that never consulted twice of one thing." And as he was a happy⁶ prince in all his enter- prises, and that by his lieutenants had done an infinite number of worthy exploits against the enemies of the empire; so, in his life amongst his friends, he shewed himself very gracious, plea- sant, and well disposed in company: being learned, eloquent, and sententious⁷ in all his talk. And to conclude, such as the empire of Rome had never any Augustus Cæsar but him alone.

- ¹ clauses.
² first.
³ wished to
 be done.
⁴ funeral.
⁵ abstract.

*Divers
 speeches
 went of
 Augustus
 after his
 death.*

⁶ fortunate.

⁷ judicious.

CHAPTER VI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIFE OF THESEUS.

ARGUMENT.

(*The lineage of THESEUS. ÆGEUS the father of THESEUS. ÆTHRA, daughter of PITHEUS, was the mother of THESEUS. THESEUS visits the oracle at Delphi. He hears of the robbers infesting the way from Træzen to Athens, and, remembering how HERCULES had destroyed many such, resolves to imitate him.*) 1. THESEUS destroys the robber named PERIPHETES CORYNETES, and spares the life of PERIGOUNA. (*He destroys the wild sow named PHEA. He slays CERCYON the Arcadian in a wrestling-match.*) 2. He arrives at Athens, where MEDEA endeavours to persuade ÆGEUS to poison him; but ÆGEUS, recognising him, acknowledges him as his son. (THESEUS destroys the Pallantides, and takes the bull of MARATHON alive.) 3. Why the Athenians paid tribute to MINOS of Crete. The Cretan labyrinth. THESEUS sails to Crete, and overcomes TAURUS. 4. ARIADNE falls in love with THESEUS. THESEUS slays DEUCALION, and deserts ARIADNE. Various accounts of ARIADNE's fate. 5. Death of ÆGEUS. 6. THESEUS strengthens the city of Athens. (*He coins money stamped with oxen, and institutes the Isthmian games.*) 7. Death of SOLOIS. 8. He wars with the Amazons, concludes peace, and marries HIPPOLYTA; or, as others say, ANTIOPA. (*The son of THESEUS and ANTIOPA was named HIPPOLYTUS. Various accounts of his many marriages.*) 9. His friendship with PIRITHOUS. 10. How THESEUS and PIRITHOUS carried off HELEN and PROSERPINA. (*War between the Tyndarides and Athenians.*) 11. THESEUS delivered from prison by HERCULES. (*1 he Athenians rebel against THESEUS. Various accounts of his death.*)

*Desire of
fame
pricketh
men for-
ward to
great enter-
prises.
Theseus and
Hercules
near kins-
men.*

1. THE wonderful admiration which Theseus had of Hercules' courage made him in the night that he never dreamed but of his noble acts and doings; and in the daytime, pricked forwards with emulation and envy of his glory, he determined with himself one day to do the like, and the rather, because they were near kinsmen, being cousins removed by the mother's side. For Æthra was the daughter of Pitheus, and Alcmena (the mother of Hercules) was the daughter of Lysidices, the which was half sister to Pitheus, both children of Pelops and of his wife Hippodamia. So he thought he should be utterly shamed and disgraced, that Hercules, travelling through the world in that sort,

did seek out those wicked thieves, to rid both sea and land of them: and that he, far otherwise, should fly occasion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he should meet on his way...With this determination, Theseus holdeth on his purposed journey, with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himself, and to be revenged of those which would take upon them to assault him. The first therefore whom he slew within the territories of the city of Epidaurum, was a robber called Periphetes. This robber used for his ordinary weapon to carry a club, and for that cause he was commonly surnamed Corynetes, that is to say, a club-carrier. So he first strake at Theseus to make him stand: but Theseus fought so lustily with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was so glad, and chiefly for that he had won his club, that ever after he carried it himself about with him, as Hercules did the lion's skin. And like as this spoil of the lion did witness the greatness of the beast which Hercules had slain, even so Theseus went all about, shewing that this club, which he had gotten out of another's hands, was in his own hands invincible. And so going on further, in the straits of Peloponnesus he killed another, called Sinnis, surnamed Pityocamtes, that is to say, a wreather or bower of pine-apple trees: whom he put to death in that self¹ cruel manner that Sinnis had slain many other travellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practice or exercise: but only to shew that clean strength could do more than either art or exercise. This Sinnis had a goodly fair daughter called Perigouna, which fled away when she saw her father slain: whom he followed and sought all about. But she had hidden herself in a grove full of certain kinds of wild pricking rushes called *stæbe*, and wild sperage², which she simply like a child intreated to hide her, as if they had heard, and had sense to understand her: promising them with an oath, that if they saved her from being found, she would never cut them down, nor burn them. But Theseus finding her, called her, and sware by his faith he would use her gently, and do her no hurt, nor displeasure at all. Upon which promise she came out of the bush, and bare unto him a goodly boy, which was called Menalippus. Afterwards Theseus married her unto one Deioneus, the son of Euritus the Oechalian. Of this Menalippus the son of Theseus, came Ioxus: the which with Ornytus brought men into the country of Caria, where he built the city of Ioxides. And hereof cometh that old ancient ceremony, observed yet unto this day by those of Ioxides, never

Periphetes Corynetes a famous robber, slain of Theseus. Theseus carried the club he won of Periphetes, as Hercules did the lion's skin.

Sinnis Pityocamtes, a cruel murderer, slain.

¹ same.

Perigouna Sinnis' daughter.

² asparagus.

Theseus begot Menalippus of Perigouna.

to burn the briars of wild sperage, nor the *stæbe*, but they have them in some honour and reverence....

2. It is supposed he arrived in the city of Athens the eighth day of the month of June, which then they called Cronius. He found the commonwealth turmoiled with seditions, factions, and divisions, and particularly the house of Ægeus in very ill terms also, because that Medea (being banished out of the city of Corinth) was come to dwell in Athens, and remained with Ægeus...But when she heard tell that Theseus was come, before that the good king Ægeus (who was now become old, suspicious, and afraid of sedition, by reason of the great factions within the city at that time) knew what he was, she persuaded him to poison him at a feast which they would make him as a stranger that passed by. Theseus failed not to go to this prepared feast whereunto he was bidden, but yet thought it not good to disclose himself. And the rather to give Ægeus occasion¹ and mean² to know him, when they brought the meat to the board, he drew out his sword as though he would have cut withal, and shewed it unto him. Ægeus seeing it, knew it straight, and forthwith overthrew the cup with poison which was prepared for him: and after he had enquired of him and asked things, he embraced him as his son. Afterwards in the common assembly of the inhabitants of the city, he declared how he avowed him for his son. Then all the people received him with exceeding joy, for the renown of his valiantness and manhood....

3. Shortly after this exploit, there came certain of king Minos' ambassadors out of Creta, to ask a tribute, being now the third time that it was demanded; which the Athenians paid for this cause. Androgeus, the eldest son of king Minos, was slain by treason within the country of Attica: for which cause Minos, pursuing the revenge of his death, made very hot and sharp wars upon the Athenians, and did them great hurt. But besides all this, the gods did sharply punish and scourge all the country, as well with barrenness and famine as also with plague and other mischiefs, even to the drying up of their rivers. The Athenians perceiving these sore troubles and plagues, ran to the oracle of Apollo, who answered them that they should appease Minos, and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrath of the gods would cease against them, and their troubles should have an end. Whereupon the Athenians sent immediately unto him, and intreated him for peace: which he granted them, with condition that they should be bound to

*Medea persuaded
Ægeus to
poison
Theseus.*

¹ opportunity.
² means.

*Ægeus acknowledged
Theseus for
his son.*

*The Athenians paid
tribute to
Minos king
of Creta, for
the death of
Androgeus
his son.*

*The manner
of the tribute
conditioned.*

send him yearly, into Creta, seven young boys and as many young girls. Now thus far all the historiographers do very well agree, but in the rest not. And they which seem furthest off from the troth¹, do declare, that when these young boys were delivered in Creta, they caused them to be devoured by the Minotaur within the labyrinth: or else that they were shut within this labyrinth, wandering up and down, and could find no place to get out, until such time as they died, even famished for hunger. And this Minotaur, as Euripides the poet saith, was

A corpse combin'd, which monstrous might be deem'd:
A boy, a bull, both man and beast it seem'd.

But Philochorus writeth, that the Cretans do not confess that, but say that this labyrinth was a gail² or prison, in the which they had no other hurt, saving that they which were kept there under lock and key could not fly nor start away: and that Minos had, in memory of his son Androgeus, instituted games and plays of prise³, where he gave unto them that won the victory those young children of Athens, the which in the meantime notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked unto in the prison of the labyrinth: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the king's captains called Taurus, who was in best credit with his master, won the prise³. This Taurus was a churlish and naughty-natured⁴ man of condition⁵, and very hard and cruel to these children of Athens. And to verify the same, the philosopher Aristotle himself, speaking of the commonwealth of the Bottieians, declareth very well, that he never thought that Minos did at any time cause the children of Athens to be put to death: but saith, that they poorly toiled in Creta, even to crooked age, earning their living by true and painful service.... The time now being come about for payment of the third tribute, when they came to compel the fathers which had children not yet married, to give them to be put forth to take their chance and lot: the citizens of Athens began to murmur against Ægeus, alleging for their grieves⁶, that he, who only was the cause of all this evil, was only alone exempted from this grief. And that, to bring the government of the realm to fall into the hands of a stranger, he cared not though they were bereft of all their natural children, and were unnaturally compelled to leave and forsake them. These just sorrows and complaints of the fathers whose children were taken from them did pierce the heart of Theseus, who, willing to yield to reason, and

¹ truth.

The Minotaur what it was.

The Labyrinth a prison in Creta.
² gaol.

³ prize.

Taurus one of Minos' captains.
⁴ ill-natured.
⁵ disposition.

Of the Bottieians.
Plin. lib. iv. cap. 2.

The third time of payment of the tribute.
The Athenians are grieved to depart with their children.
⁶ grieves.

*Theseus of-
fereth to go
with the
children in-
to Creta.
¹ without re-
garding.*

*Lots drawn
for the
children
that should
go.*

*The Athe-
nians sent
their chil-
dren into
Creta in a
ship with a
black sail.
Ægeus
giveth the
master of
the ship a
white sail to
signify the
safe return
of Theseus.*

*Cybernesia
games.*

to run the selfsame fortune as the citizens did, willingly offered himself to be sent thither, without regard taking to¹ his hap or adventure. For which, the citizens greatly esteemed of his courage and honourable disposition, and dearly loved him for the good affection he seemed to bear unto the commonalty. But Ægeus having used many reasons and persuasions to cause him to turn and stay from his purpose, and perceiving in the end there was no remedy but he would go, he then drew lots for the children which should go with him. Hellanicus notwithstanding doth write, that they were not those of the city which drew lots for the children they should send, but that Minos himself went thither in person, and did choose them, as he chose Theseus the first, upon condition agreed between them: that is to wit, that the Athenians should furnish them with a ship, and that the children should ship and embark with him, carrying no weapons of war: and that after the death of the Minotaur this tribute should cease. Now before that time, there was never any hope of return, nor of safety of their children; therefore the Athenians always sent a ship to convey their children, with a black sail, in token of assured loss. Nevertheless Theseus putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good courage, and promising boldly that he would set upon this Minotaur, Ægeus gave unto the master of the ship a white sail, commanding him that at his return he should put out the white sail if his son had escaped: if not, that then he should set up the black sail, to shew him afar off his unlucky and unfortunate chance. Simonides notwithstanding doth say, that this sail which Ægeus gave to the master, was not white, but red, dyed in grain, and of the colour of scarlet, and that he gave it him to signify afar off their delivery and safety. This master was called Phereclus Amarsiadas, as Simonides saith. But Philochorus writeth, that Scirus the Salaminian gave to Theseus a master called Nausitheus, and another mariner to tackle the sails, who was called Phæas: because the Athenians at that time were not greatly practised to the sea. And this did Scirus, for that one of the children on whom the lot fell was his nephew: and thus much the chapels do testify, which Theseus built afterwards in honour of Nausitheus and of Phæas, in the village of Phalerus, joining to the temple of Scirus. And it is said moreover, that the feast which they call Cybernesia, that is to say, the feast of patrons of the ships, is celebrated in honour of them. Now after the lots were drawn, Theseus taking with

him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the palace to the temple called Delphinion, to offer up to Apollo, for him and for them, an offering of supplication, which they call *hicceteria*: which was an olive bough hallowed, wreathed about with white wool. After he had made his prayer, he went down to the sea-side to embark, the sixth day of the month of March: on which day at this present time they do send their young girls to the same temple of Delphinion, there to make their prayers and petitions to the gods. But some say, that the oracle of Apollo in the city of Delphes had answered him, that he should take Venus for his guide, and that he should call upon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he did sacrifice a goat unto her upon the sea-side, which was found suddenly turned into a ram, and that therefore they surnamed this goddess Epitragia, as one would say, the goddess of the ram. Furthermore, after he was arrived in Creta, he slew there the Minotaur (as the most part of ancient authors do write) by the means and help of Ariadne: who being fallen in fancy¹ with him, did give him a clue of thread, by the help whereof she taught him, how he might easily wind out of the turnings and crancks² of the labyrinth. And they say, that having killed this Minotaur, he returned back again the same way he went, bringing with him those other young children of Athens, whom with Ariadne also he carried afterwards away. Pherecides saith moreover, that he brake the keels or bottoms of all the ships of Creta, because they should not suddenly set out after them. And Demon writeth, that Taurus (the captain of Minos) was killed in fight by Theseus, even in the very haven-mouth, as they were ready to ship away and hoise³ up sail. Yet Philochorus reporteth, that king Minos having set up the games, as he was wont to do yearly in the honour and memory of his son, every one began to envy captain Taurus, because they ever looked that he should carry away the game and victory, as he had done other years before; over and above that, his authority got him much ill will and envy, because he was proud and stately, and had in suspicion that he was great with⁴ Queen Pasiphaë. Wherefore when Theseus required that he might encounter with Taurus, Minos easily granted it. And being a solemn custom in Creta, that the women should be present to see those open sports and sights, Ariadne, being at these games amongst the rest, fell further in love with Theseus, seeing him so goodly a person, so strong, and invincible in wrestling, that

Hicceteria,
offering.

Theseus
taketh ship
with the
tribute
children
the sixth of
March, and
saileth into
Creta.

Venus
Epitragia.
Theseus
slew the
Minotaur
by means of
Ariadne,
king Minos'
daughter.

✓ *love.*

² windings.
Theseus'
return out of
Creta.

Taurus,
overcome of
Theseus,
was a man.
³ hoist.

⁴ beloved by.
Taurus
suspected
with Pasi-
phaë, king
Minos' wife.

How Ari-
adne fell in
love with
Theseus.

Minos sendeth Theseus home with his prisoners, and releaseth the Athenians of their tribute.

¹ free.

Theseus sailed into Creta, and won the city of Gnosus, and slew Deucalion.

² itself.

³ truth.

Divers opinions of Ariadne.

⁴ isle.

Theseus' master of his ship forgot to set out the white sail. Ægeus' death.

⁵ captain.

Theseus arriveth safe with the tribute children in the haven of Phalerus.

he far exceeded all that wrestled there that day. King Minos was so glad that he had taken away the honour from captain Taurus, that he sent him home frank¹ and free into his country, rendering to him all the other prisoners of Athens: and for his sake clearly released and forgave the city of Athens the tribute, which they should have paid him yearly....

4. Afterwards when all his ships were ready, and rigged out, he took sea before the Cretans had any knowledge of it: inso-much as when they saw them afar off, they did take them for the barks of their friends. Theseus landed without resistance, and took the haven. Then having Dædalus, and other banished Cretans for guides, he entered the city self² of Gnosus, where he slew Deucalion in a fight before the gates of the labyrinth, with all his guard and officers about him. By this means the kingdom of Creta fell by inheritance into the hands of his sister Ariadne. Theseus made league with her, and carried away the young children of Athens which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amity between the Athenians and the Cretans: who promised and sware, they would never make wars against them. They report many other things also touching this matter, and specially of Ariadne: but there is no troth³ nor certainty in it. For some say, that Ariadne hung herself for sorrow, when she saw that Theseus had cast her off. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the ile⁴ of Naxos, where she was married unto CEnarus the priest of Bacchus: and they think that Theseus left her, because he was in love with another, as by these verses should appear:

Ægles, the nymph, was loved of Theseus,
Who was the daughter of Panopeus....

5. But when they drew near to the coast of Attica, they were so joyful, he and his master⁵, that they forgot to set up their white sail, by which they should have given knowledge of their health and safety unto Ægeus. Who seeing the black sail afar off, being out of all hope ever more to see his son again, took such a grief at his heart, that he threw himself headlong from the top of a cliff, and killed himself. So soon as Theseus was arrived at the port named Phalerus, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his departure: and sent an herald of his before unto the city, to carry news of his safe arrival. The herald found many of the city mourning the death of King Ægeus. Many other received him with great joy, as may be supposed. They would have crowned him also with a gar-

land of flowers, for that he had brought so good tidings, that the children of the city were returned in safety. The herald was content to take the garland, yet would he not in any wise put it on his head, but did wind it about his herald's rod he bare in his hand, and so returned forthwith to the sea, where Theseus made his sacrifices. Who perceiving they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and stayed without for ¹troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwards, all ceremonies finished, he went in and told him the news of his father's death. Then he and his company, mourning for sorrow, hasted with speed towards the city....

6. Furthermore, after the death of his father Ægeus, he undertook a marvellous great enterprise. For he brought all the inhabitants of the whole province of Attica to be within the city of Athens, and made them all one corporation, which were before dispersed into divers villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the common state. Many times also they were at variance together and by the ears², making wars one upon another. But Theseus took the pains to go from village to village, and from family to family, to let them understand the reasons why they should consent unto it. So he found the poor people and private men ready to obey and follow his will, but the rich, and such as had authority in every village, all against it. Nevertheless he wan them, promising that it should be a commonwealth, and not subject to the power of any sole prince, but rather a popular state. In which he would only reserve to himself the charge of the wars, and the preservation of the laws: for the rest, he was content that every citizen, in all and for all, should bear a like sway and authority. So there were some that willingly granted thereto. Other³ who had no liking thereof, yielded notwithstanding for fear of his displeasure and power, which then was very great. So they thought it better to consent with good will unto that he required, than to tarry his forcible compulsion. Then he caused all the places where justice was ministered, and all their halls of assembly, to be overthrown and pulled down. He removed straight all judges and officers, and built a town-house, and a council-hall, in the place where the city now standeth, which the Athenians call *Asty*, but he called the whole corporation of them, Athens. Afterwards he instituted the great feast and common sacrifice for all the country of Attica, which they call Panathenæa.

*The herald
bare a rod
in his hand.*

¹ for fear of.

*Theseus
brought the
inhabitants
of the
country of
Attica into
one city.*

² at strife.

³ others.

*Asty the
town-house
of the Athe-
nians.*

*The feasts
Panathenæa*

and Metæcia.

Theseus resigneth his kingdom, and maketh Athens a common-wealth.

Theseus' journey into Mare Major.

Antiopa the Amazon carried off by Theseus.

¹ hoisted.

Solois fell in love with Antiopa.
² betrayed.

Solois drowned himself for love.
³ to heart.
⁴ learnt.

Then he ordained another feast also upon the sixteenth day of the month of June, for all strangers which should come to dwell in Athens, which was called Metæcia, and is kept even to this day. That done, he gave over his regal power according to his promise, and began to set up an estate or policy of a common-wealth, beginning first with the service of the gods....

7. Touching the voyage he made by the sea Major, Philochorus, and some other hold opinion, that he went thither with Hercules against the Amazons: and that to honour his valiantness, Hercules gave him Antiopa the Amazon. But the more part of the other historiographers, namely, Hellanicus, Pherecides, and Herodotus, do write, that Theseus went thither alone, after Hercules' voyage, and that he took this Amazon prisoner; which is likeliest to be true. For we do not find that any other who went this journey with him, had taken any Amazon prisoner besides himself. Bion also the historiographer, this notwithstanding, saith, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the Amazons (saith he) naturally loving men, did not fly at all when they saw them land in their country, but sent them presents, and that Theseus enticed her to come into his ship, who brought him a present: and so soon as she was aboard, he hoisted¹ his sail, and so carried her away. Another historiographer Menecrates, who wrote the history of the city of Nicea in the country of Bithynia, saith: that Theseus having this Amazon Antiopa with him, remained a certain time upon those coasts, and that amongst other he had in his company three younger brethren of Athens, Euneus, Thoas, and Solois. This last, Solois, was marvellously in love with Antiopa, and never bewrayed² it to any of his other companions, saving unto one with whom he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter unto Antiopa. But she utterly rejected his suit, though otherwise she handled it wisely and courteously, and did not complain to Theseus of him. Howbeit the young man, despairing to enjoy his love, took it so inwardly³, that desperately he leaped into the river, and drowned himself. Which when Theseus understood⁴, and the cause also that brought him to this desperation and end, he was very sorry, and angry also. Whereupon he remembered a certain oracle of Pythia, by whom he was commanded to build a city in that place in a strange country, where he should be most sorry, and that he should leave some that were about him at that time, to govern the same. For this cause therefore he built a city in

that place, which he named Pythopolis, because he built it only by the commandment of the nun Pythia. He called the river, in the which the young man was drowned, Solois, in memory of him: and left his two brethren for his deputies and as governors of this new city, with another gentleman of Athens, called Hermus....

8. Now hear what was the occasion of the wars of the Amazons, which me thinks was not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprise of a woman. For they had not placed their camp within the very city of Athens, nor had not fought in the very place itself (called Pnyce) adjoining to the temple of the Muses, if they had not first conquered or subdued all the country thereabouts: neither had they all come at the first, so valiantly to assail the city of Athens. Now, whether they came by land from so far a country, or that they passed over an arm of the sea, which is called Bosphorus Cimmericus, being frozen as Hellanicus saith: it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very city itself, the names of the places which continue yet to this present day do witness it, and the graves also of the women which died there. But so it is, that both armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battle. Howbeit at the length Theseus, having first made sacrifice unto Fear the goddess, according to the counsel of a prophecy he had received, he gave them battle in the month of August, on the same day in the which the Athenians do even at this present solemnise the feast which they call Boedromia. But Clidemus the historiographer, desirous particularly to write all the circumstances of this encounter, saith, that the left point of their battle bent towards the place which they call Amazonion: and that the right point marched by the side of Chrysa, even to the place which is called Pnyce, upon which the Athenians, coming towards the temple of the Muses, did first give their charge. And for proof that this is true, the graves of the women which died in the first encounter, are found yet in the great street which goeth towards the gate *Piraica*, near unto the chapel of the little god Chalcodus. And the Athenians (saith he) were in this place repulsed by the Amazons, even to the place where the images of Eumenides are, that is to say, of the furies. But on the other side also, the Athenians, coming towards the quarters of Palladium, Ardettus, and Lucium, drave¹ back their right point even to within their camp, and slew a great number of them. Afterwards, at the

*Pythopolis
built by
Theseus.
Solois fl.*

*The cause of
the wars of
the Ama-
zons a-
gainst the
Athenians.*

*Bosphorus
Cimmericus
an arm of
the sea.*

*Theseus
fighteth a
battle with
the Ama-
zons.*

*The order
of the Ama-
zons' battle.*

¹ drove.

Peace concluded at four months, and by the means of Hippolyta.

end of four months, peace was taken between them by means of one of the women called Hippolyta. For this historiographer calleth the Amazon which Theseus married, Hippolyta, and not Antiopa. Nevertheless, some say that she was slain (fighting on Theseus' side) with a dart, by another called Molpadia. In memory whereof, the pillar which is joined to the temple of the Olympian ground was set up in her honour. We are not to marvel, if the history of things so ancient be found so diversely written....

Theseus' battles.

9. Albeit in his time other princes of Greece had done many goodly and notable exploits in the wars, yet Herodotus is of opinion, that Theseus was never in any one of them, saving that he was at the battle of the Lapithæ against the Centauri. Others say, to the contrary, that he was at the journey of Cholchide¹ with Jason, and that he did help Meleager to kill the wild boar of Calydonia : from whence (as they say) this proverb came, 'Not without Theseus;' meaning that such a thing was not done without great help of another. Howbeit, it is certain that Theseus self did many famous acts without aid of any man, and that, for his valiantness, this proverb came in use, which is spoken—'This is another Theseus.' Also he did help Adrastus, king of the Argives, to recover the bodies of those that were slain in the battle before the city of Thebes. Howbeit, it was not, as the poet Euripides saith, by force of arms, after he had overcome the Thebans in battle, but it was by composition².

Proverb. Not without Theseus.

Proverb. This is another Theseus.

² agreement.

And thus the greatest number of the most ancient writers do declare it. Furthermore, Philochorus writeth that this was the very first treaty that ever was made to recover the dead bodies slain in battle. Nevertheless, we read in the histories and

³ tales.

gests³ of Hercules, that he was the first that ever suffered his enemies to carry away their dead bodies, after they had been put to the sword. But whosoever he was, at this day, in the

⁴ Eleutheræ.

village of Eleutheræ⁴, they do shew the place where the people were buried, and where princes' tombs are seen about the city

⁵ Eleusis.

of Eleusin⁵, which he made at the request of Adrastus. And, for testimony hereof, the tragedy Æschylus made of the Eleusinians, where he causeth it to be spoken even thus to Theseus

⁶ Supplices.

Theseus' valiantness the cause of Pirithous' friendship with him.

himself, doth clearly overthrow the Petitioners⁶ in Euripides. Touching the friendship betwixt Pirithous and him, it is said it began thus. The renown of his valiancy was marvellously blown abroad through all Greece, and Pirithous, desirous to know it by experience, went even of purpose to invade his

country, and brought away a certain booty of oxen of his, taken out of the country of Marathon. Theseus, being advertised¹ thereof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. Pirithous, hearing of his coming, fled not at all, but returned back suddenly to meet him. And so soon as they came to see one another, they both wondered at each other's beauty and courage, and so had they no desire to fight. But Pirithous, reaching out his hand first to Theseus, said unto him: "I make yourself judge of the damage you have sustained by my invasion, and with all my heart I will make such satisfaction, as it shall please you to assess it at." Theseus then did not only release him of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he would become his friend and brother-in-arms. Hereupon they were presently sworn brethren in the field: after which oath betwixt them, Pirithous married Deidamia, and sent to pray Theseus to come to his marriage, to visit his country, and to make merry with the Lapithæ....

10. Theseus and Pirithous went together to the city of Lacedæmon, where they took away Helen (being yet very young) even as she was dancing in the temple of Diana surnamed Orthia: and they fled for life. They of Lacedæmon sent after her, but those that followed went no further than the city of Tegea. Now when they were escaped out of the country of Peloponnesus, they agreed to draw lots together, which of them two should have her, with condition that whose lot it were to have her, he should take her to his wife, and should be bound also to help his companion to get him another. It was Theseus' hap to light upon her, who carried her to the city of Aphidnes², because she was yet too young to be married. Whither he caused his mother to come to bring her up, and gave his friend called Aphidnus the charge of them both, recommending her to his good care, and to keep it so secretly, that nobody should know what was become of her. Because he would do the like for Pirithous (according to the agreement made betwixt them) he went into Epirus with him to steal the daughter of Ædoneus, king of the Molossians, who had surnamed his wife Proserpina, his daughter Proserpina, and his dog Cerberus, with whom he made them fight which came to ask his daughter in marriage, promising to give her to him that should overcome his Cerberus. But the king understanding that Pirithous was come, not to request his daughter in marriage, but to steal her away, he took him prisoner with Theseus: and as for Pirithous, he caused him

¹ told.

Pirithous and Theseus sworn brethren in the field.

The manner of Helen's ravishment. Diana Orthia.

Theseus left Helen in the city of Aphidnes.
² Aphidnæ.

Theseus went with Pirithous into Epirus to steal Proserpina Ædoneus' daughter.

¹ forthwith.
Pirithous
torn in
pieces with
Cerberus.
Theseus
close pri-
soner.

Theseus de-
livered out
of prison by
Hercules'
means.

presently¹ to be torn in pieces with his dog, and shut Theseus up in close prison.....

II. But Ædoneus king of the Molossians, feasting Hercules one day as he passed through his realm, descended by chance into talk of Theseus and Pirithous, how they came to steal away his daughter secretly; and after told how they were also punished. Hercules was marvellous sorry to understand that one of them was now dead, and the other in danger to die; and thought with himself that to make his moan to Ædoneus, it would not help the matter: he besought him only that he would deliver Theseus for his sake. And he granted him. Thus Theseus being delivered of his captivity, returned to Athens, where his friends were not altogether kept under by his enemies: and at his return he did dedicate to Hercules all the temples, which the city had before caused to be built in his own honour.....

CHAPTER VII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIFE OF ALCIBIADES.

1. *Description of ALCIBIADES, and anecdotes of his early days. (ALCIBIADES saves the life of SOCRATES in battle, who requites him by saving his life in return.)* 2. *Anecdotes of the dog and quail. (HYPERBOLUS endeavours to banish ALCIBIADES by ostracism, but is banished himself. Peace is concluded by NICIAS between Athens and Sparta. ALCIBIADES is chosen general of the Athenians.)* 3. *Wanton behaviour of ALCIBIADES.* 4. *Interview between ALCIBIADES and TIMON the misanthrope. (ALCIBIADES is accused of mangling the images of HERMES, and of profaning the holy mysteries. His expedition to Sicily.)* 5. *He is sent for to answer to the charge of mutilating the images, and condemned. He flies to Sparta. Description of his extreme versatility. (He flies from Sparta to the court of TISAPHERNES.)* 6. *The Athenians, being afraid of TISAPHERNES, begin to desire the return of ALCIBIADES.* 7. *He is recalled from exile. (His victories at Abydos, Cyzicum, and Byzantium.)* 8. *His honourable return to Athens.* 9. *Some of his failures were due to lack of money. (ALCIBIADES is accused by THRASYBULUS, and his authority as general is taken from him. Athens is taken by LYSANDER, who appoints thirty tyrants.)* 10. *Death of ALCIBIADES at a village in Phrygia. His burial by TIMANDRA.*

ARGUMENT.

I. ALCIBIADES, by his father's side, was anciently descended of Eurysaces that was the son of Ajax, and, by his mother's side of Aicmæon: for his mother Dinomacha was the daughter of Megacles.... Now for Alcibiades' beauty, it made no matter if we spake not of it, yet I will a little touch it by the way: for he was wonderful fair, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times, which made him marvellous amiable, and beloved of every man. For where Euripides saith that, of all the fair times of the year, the autumn or latter season is the fairest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proved true in Alcibiades, though in few other: for he was passing fair even to his latter time, and of good temperature of body. They write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, but gave a certain natural pleasant grace in his talk: which Aristophanes mentioneth, mocking one Theorus that did counterfeit a lisping grace with his tongue:

*Alcibiades' stock.
Alcibiades' beauty.
Alcibiades lisped by nature.*

* *The equivocation of these two Greek words Kopa and Kola is hard to be expressed in English, instead whereof I have set flatling blows, for flattering brows, observing the grace of lisping as near as I could, like to the Latin and French translations; likewise Theolus for Theorus.*

Alcibiades ambitious.

'This Alcibiades, with his fat lisping tongue,
 Into mine ears, this trusty tale and song full often sung:
 Look upon Theolus (quoth he) lo there he bows,
 Behold his comely crow-bright face with fat and flatling* blows.
 The son of Clinias would lisp it thus somewhiles,
 And sure he lisped never a lie, but rightly hit his wiles.'

And Archippus, another poet also, mocking the son of Alcibiades, saith thus:

'Because he would be like his father every way,
 In his long trailing gown he would go jetting day by day,
 And counterfeit his speech, his countenance and face:
 As though Dame Nature had him given therein a perfect grace
 To lisp and look aside, and hold his head awry,
 Even as his father looked and lisped, so would he prate and pry.'

For his manners, they altered and changed very oft with time, which is not to be wondered at, seeing his marvellous great prosperity, as also adversity that followed him afterwards. But of all the great desires he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition, seeking to have the upper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best person: as appeareth by certain of his deeds, and notable sayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have given him the fall, he got his fellow's arm in his mouth, and bit so hard, as he would have eaten it off. The other feeling him bite so hard, let go his hold straight, and said unto him: "What, Alcibiades? bitest thou like a woman?" "No, mary, do I not," quoth he, "but like a lion." Another time, being but a little boy, he played at skails¹ in the midst of the street with other of his companions, and when his turn came about to throw, there came a cart laden by chance that way: Alcibiades prayed the carter to stay awhile, until he had played out his game, because the skails were set right in the highway where the cart should pass over. The carter was a stubborn knave, and would not stay for any request the boy could make, but drave his horse on still, insomuch as other boys gave back to let him go on: but Alcibiades fell flat to the ground before the cart, and bad the carter drive over, and² he durst. The carter, being afraid, plucked back his horse to stay them: the neighbours, frightened to see the danger, ran to the boy in all haste, crying out. Afterwards, when he was put to school to learn, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him anything, saving that he disdained to learn to play on the flute or recorder³:

¹ ninepins.

² if.

Alcibiades studies.

³ a sort of flageolet.

saying that it was no gentlemanly quality. "For," said he, "to play on the viol with a stick doth not alter man's favour¹, nor disgrace any gentleman: but otherwise, to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and changeth so oft, that his familiar friends can scant² know him. Moreover the harp or viol doth not let³ him that playeth on them from speaking or singing as he playeth: where⁴ he that playeth on the flute holdeth his mouth so hard to it, that it taketh not only his words from him, but his voice. Therefore," said he, "let the children of the Thebans play on the flute, that cannot tell how to speak: as for the Athenians, we have (as our forefathers tell us) for protectors and patrons of our country, the goddess Pallas and the god Apollo: of the which the one in old time (as it is said) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skin over his ears⁵ that played upon a flute." Thus Alcibiades alleging these reasons, partly in sport, and partly in good earnest, did not only himself leave⁶ to learn to play on the flute, but he turned his companions' minds also quite from it. For these words of Alcibiades ran from boy to boy incontinently⁷: "that Alcibiades had reason to despise playing on the flute, and that he mocked all those that learned to play on it." So afterwards, it fell out at Athens, that teaching to play on the flute was put out of the number of honest and liberal exercises, and the flute itself was thought a vile instrument and of no reputation.....

2. Alcibiades had a marvellous fair great dog, that cost him threescore and ten *minas*, and he cut off his tail that was his chief beauty. When his friends reproved him, and told him how every man blamed him for it: he fell a-laughing, and told them he had that he sought. "For," saith he, "I would have the Athenians rather prate upon that, than they should say worse of me." Moreover, it is said, the first time that Alcibiades spake openly in the commonweal, and began to deal in matters, was upon a gift of money he gave unto the people, and not of any pretence⁸ or former purpose he had to do it. One day as he came through the market-place, hearing the people very loud, he asked what the matter was: they told him it was about money certain men had given to the people. Then Alcibiades went to them, and gave them money out of his own purse. The people were so glad at that, as⁹ they fell to shouting and clapping of their hands, in token of thankfulness: and himself was so glad for company, that he forgot¹⁰ a quail he had under his gown, which was so afraid of¹¹ the noise, that she took her

¹ countenance.

A vile thing to play on a flute.

² scarcely.

³ prevent.

⁴ whereas.

⁵ the ears of him.

⁶ cease.

⁷ immediately.

Alcibiades' great dog.

Alcibiades' largess.

⁸ intention.

⁹ that.

¹⁰ forgot.

¹¹ frightened by.

Alcibiades' coming into the commonwealth.

Alcibiades marvelous eloquent.
¹ comic.

Alcibiades' wit and imperfection.

² midst.

Alcibiades' victory at the games Olympical.
³ prize.

⁴ got, won.
⁵ count.

flight away. The people, seeing the quail, made a greater noise than before, and many rose out of their places to run after her : so that in the end, it was taken up by a master of a ship called Antiochus, who brought him the quail again, and for that cause Alcibiades did love him ever after. Now albeit the nobility of his house, his goods, his worthiness and the great number of his kinsmen and friends, made his way open to take upon him government in the commonweal : yet the only way he desired to win the favour of the common people by was the grace of his eloquence. To prove he was eloquent, all the comical¹ poets do testify it : and besides them Demosthenes, the prince of orators, also doth say, in an oration he made against Medias, that Alcibiades, above all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we may believe Theophrastus, the greatest searcher of antiquities, and best historiographer above any other philosopher : he hath written, that Alcibiades had as good a wit to devise and consider what he would say, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit sometimes, studying what he should say, as also to deliver good words, not having them very ready at his tongue's end, he many times took breath by the way, and paused in the midst² of his tale, not speaking a word, until he had called it to mind that he would say. His charge was great, and much spoken of also, for keeping of running horses at games : not only because they were the best and swiftest, but for the number of coaches he had besides. For never private person, no, nor any prince, did ever send seven so well-appointed coaches in all furniture, unto the games Olympical, as he did : nor that at one course hath borne away the first, the second, and the fourth prise³, as Thucydides saith : or as Euripides reporteth, the third. For in that game he excelled all men in honour and name, that ever strived for victory therein. For Euripides pronounced his praise, in a song he made of him, as followeth :

O son of Clinias, I will resound thy praise ;

For thou art bold in martial deeds and overcom'st always.
 Thy victories therewith do far exceed the rest

That ever were in Greece ygot⁴, therefore I compt⁵ them best.
 For at th' Olympic games thou hast with chariots won

The first prise³, second, third, and all which there in race were run.
 With praise and little pain, thy head hath twice been crowned

With olive boughs for victory, and twice by trumpets' sound
 The heralds have proclaim'd thee victor by thy name

Above all those which ran with thee, in hope to get the game.

Howbeit the good affection divers cities did bear him, contending which should gratify him best, did much increase his fame and honour.....

3. Yet with all these goodly deeds and fair words of Alcibiades, and with this great courage and quickness of understanding, he had many great faults and imperfections. For he was too dainty in his fare, wantonly given, riotous in bankets¹, vain and womanish in apparel: he ware² ever a long purple gown that swept the market-place as he walked up and down, it had such a train, and was too rich and costly for him to wear. And following these vain pleasures and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the planks of the poop thereof to be cut and broken up, that he might lie the softer: for his bed was not laid upon the overlop³, but laid upon girths⁴ strained over the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides, and he carried to the wars with him a gilded scutchion⁵, wherein he had no cognizance, nor ordinary device of the Athenians, but only had the image of Cupid in it, holding lightning in his hand. The noblemen and best citizens of Athens perceiving this, they hated his fashions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afeard⁶ withal of his rashness and insolency: he did so condemn the laws and customs of their country, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be king, and would subvert and turn all over-hand⁷. And as for the goodwill of the common people towards him, the poet Aristophanes doth plainly express it in these words:

The people most desire what most they hate to have:
And what their mind abhors, even that they seem to crave.

And in another place he said also, aggravating the suspicion they had of him:

For state or commonweal much better should it be,
To keep within the country none such lion's looks as he:
But if they needs will keep a lion to their cost,
Then must they needs obey his will, for he will rule the roast⁸.

For to say truly: his courtesies, his liberalities, and noble expenses to shew the people so great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more: the glorious memory of his ancestors, the grace of his eloquence, the beauty of his person, the strength and valiantness of his body, joined together with his wisdom and experience in martial affairs: were the very causes that made them to bear with him in all things, and that the Athenians did patiently endure all his light parts, and did cover his

Alcibiades'

riot.

¹ banquets.

² wore.

³ orlop.

⁴ straps.

⁵ escutcheon,
shield.

⁶ afraid.

⁷ upside
down.

⁸ be sole
master.

Alcibiades' dishonesty and wantonness.

¹ honourably.

² expenses.

faults with the best words and terms they could, calling them youthful, and gentlemen's sports. As when he kept Agartharcus the painter prisoner in his house by force, until he had painted all his walls within: and when he had done, did let him go, and rewarded him very honestly¹ for his pains. Again, when he gave a box on the ear to Taureas, who did pay the whole charges² of a company of common players, in spite of him, to carry away the honour of the games.....

³ werwolf.

⁴ give.

⁵ climbest.

⁶ others.

4. And on a day as he came from the council and assembly of the city, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptance of all the hearers, and by means thereof had obtained the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great train that followed him to his honour: Timon, surnamed Misanthropos (as who would say, *loup-garou*³, or the man-hater), meeting Alcibiades thus accompanied, did not pass by him, nor gave him way (as he was wont to do all other men), but went straight to him, and took him by the hand, and said: "O, thou dost well, my son, I can⁴ thee thank, that thou goest on, and climest⁵ up still: for if ever thou be in authority, wo be unto those that follow thee, for they are utterly undone!" When they heard these words, those that stood by fell a-laughing: other⁶ reviled Timon; other again marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after: such sundry opinions they had of him for the unconstancy of his life, and waywardness of his nature and conditions.....

Alcibiades sent for to answer to his accusations.

⁷ desire.

⁸ mutinied.

5. Now though the people had no more occasion to occupy their busy heads about the breakers of these images, yet was not their malice thus appeased against Alcibiades, until they sent the galley called Salaminiana, commanding those they sent by a special commission to seek him out, in no case to attempt to take him by force, nor to lay hold on him by violence: but to use him with all the good words and courteous manner that they possibly could, and to will⁷ him only to appear in person before the people, to answer to certain accusations put up against him. If otherwise they should have used force, they feared much lest the army would have mutinied⁸ on his behalf within the country of their enemies, and that there would have grown some sedition amongst their soldiers. This might Alcibiades have easily done, if he had been disposed: for the soldiers were very sorry to see him depart, perceiving that the wars should be drawn out now in length, and be much prolonged under. Nicias, seeing Alcibiades was taken from them, who was

the only spur that pricked Nicias forward to do any service: and that Lamachus also, though he were a valiant man of his hands, yet he lacked honour and authority in the army, because he was but a mean man born, and poor besides. Now Alcibiades, for a farewell, disappointed the Athenians of winning the city of Messina: for they having intelligence by certain private persons within the city, that it would yield up into their hand, Alcibiades, knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed¹ them unto those that were the Syracusans' friends: whereupon all this practice² was broken utterly. Afterwards when he came to the city of Thuries, so soon as he had landed, he went and hid himself incontinently³ in such sort, that such as sought for him could not find him. Yet there was one that knew him where he was, and said: "Why, how now, Alcibiades? darest thou not trust the justice of thy country?" "Yes, very well," quoth he, "and⁴ it were in another matter: but my life standing upon it, I would not trust mine own mother, fearing lest negligently she should put in the black bean where she should cast in the white:" for, by the first, condemnation of death was signified: and by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the Athenians for malice had condemned him to death: "Well," quoth he, "they shall know I am yet alive." Now the manner of his accusation and indictment framed against him, was found written in this sort: 'Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the village of Laciades, hath accused and doth accuse Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the village of Scambonides, to have offended against the goddesses, Ceres and Proserpina, counterfeiting in mockery their holy mysteries, and shewing them to his familiar friends in his house, himself apparelled and arrayed in a long vestment or cope, like unto the vestment the priest weareth when he sheweth these holy sacred mysteries: and naming himself the priest, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the village of Phygea the verger, and the other lookers-on brethren and fellow-scorners with them, and all done in manifest contempt and derision of holy ceremonies and mysteries of the Eumolpides, the religious priests and ministers of the sacred temple of the city of Eleusis⁵.' So Alcibiades, for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his goods confiscate⁶. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the religious priests and women should ban⁷ and accurse him. But hereunto answered one of the nuns called Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the village of Agraula, saying that

¹ betrayed.² plot.³ immediately.⁴ if.*Alcibiades' accusation.*

⁵ Eleusis.
Alcibiades condemned being absent.
⁶ confiscated.
⁷ curse.

*Alcibiades
flieth to
Sparta.*

¹ itself.

² won.

³ comply.

*Alcibiades
more change-
able than
the cha-
meleon.*

⁴ laborious.

she was professed religious, to pray and to bless, not to curse and ban. After this most grievous sentence and condemnation passed against him, Alcibiades departed out of the city of Thuries, and went into the country of Peloponnesus, where he continued a good season in the city of Argos. But in the end, fearing his enemies, and having no hope to return again to his own country with any safety: he sent unto Sparta to have safe conduct and licence of the Lacedæmonians, that he might come and dwell in their country, promising them he would do to them more good being now their friend, than he ever did them hurt while he was their enemy. The Lacedæmonians granted his request, and received him very willingly into their city: where, even upon his first coming, he did three things. The first was: that the Lacedæmonians, by his persuasion and procurement, did determine speedily to send aid to the Syracusans, whom they had long before delayed: and so they sent Gylippus their captain to overthrow the Athenians' army, which they had sent thither. The second thing he did for them, was: that he made them of Greece to begin war upon the Athenians. The third, and greatest matter of importance, was: that he did counsel them to fortify the city of Decelea, which was within the territories of Attica self¹: which consumed and brought the power of the Athenians lower than any other thing whatsoever he could have done. And if he were welcome, and well esteemed in Sparta, for the service he did to the commonwealth: much more he wan² the love and goodwills of private men, for that he lived after the Laconian manner. So as they that saw his skin scraped to the flesh, and saw him wash himself in cold water, and how he did eat brown bread, and sup of their black broth, would have doubted (or to say better, never have believed) that such a man had ever kept cook in his house, nor that he ever had seen so much as a perfuming-pan, or had touched cloth of tissue made at Miletum. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this, as they say, was one whereby he most robbed men's hearts: that he could frame³ altogether with their manners and fashions of life, transforming himself more easily to all manner of shapes than the chameleon. For it is reported, that the chameleon cannot take white colour: but Alcibiades could put upon him any manners, customs, or fashions, of what nation soever, and could follow, exercise, and counterfeit them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very painful⁴, and in continual exercise:

he lived sparingly with little, and led a straight¹ life. In Ionia, to the contrary, there he lived daintily and superfluously, and gave himself to all mirth and pleasure. In Thracia, he drank ever, or was always on horseback. If he came to Tisaphernes, lieutenant of the mighty king of Persia, he far exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pomp and sumptuousness. And these things notwithstanding, never altered his natural condition from one fashion to another, neither did his manners (to say truly) receive all sorts of changes. But because peradventure, if he had shewed his natural disposition, he might, in divers places where he came, have offended those whose company he kept, he did with such a vizard² and cloke³ disguise himself, to fit their manners whom he companied with, by transforming himself into their natural countenance, as he that had seen him when he was at Sparta, to have looked upon the outward man, would have said as the common proverb saith :

It is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles self⁴.

Even so, it is even he whom Lycurgus brought up. But he that had inwardly seen his natural doings and good-will indeed lie naked before him would, contrarily, have used this common saying :

This woman is no changeling.....

6. Then were the Athenians sorry, and repented them when they had received so great loss and hurt, for that they had decreed so severely against Alcibiades, who in like manner was very sorrowful to see them brought to so hard terms, fearing, if the city of Athens came to destruction, that he himself should fall in the end into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who maliced⁵ him to the death. Now about that time, all the power of the Athenians was almost in the ile⁶ of Samos, from whence, with their army by sea, they sought to suppress the rebels that were up against them, and to keep all that which yet remained. For they were yet prettily⁷ strong to resist the enemies, at the least by sea : but they stood in fear of the power of Tisaphernes, and of the hundred and fifty galleys which were reported to be coming out of their country of Phœnicia to the aid of their enemies, which if they had come, the city of Athens had been utterly spoiled, and for ever without hope of recovery. The which Alcibiades understanding, sent secretly unto the chiefest men that were in the army of the Athenians at Samos, to give them hope he would make Tisaphernes their friend : howbeit

¹ strait,
strict.

² mask.
³ cloak.

⁴ himself.

The inconstancy of the common people.

⁵ hated.
⁶ isle.

⁷ fairly.

not of any desire he had to gratify the people, nor that he trusted to the commonalty of Athens, but only to the honourable and honest citizens, and that conditionally, so as they had the heart and courage to bridle¹ a little the over-licentiousness and insolency of the common people, and that they would take upon them the authority to govern, and to redress their state, and to preserve the city of Athens from final and utter destruction. Upon this advertisement², all the heads and chief men did give very good ear unto it: saving only Phrynichus, one of the captains, and of the town of Dirades: who mistrusting (that was true indeed) that Alcibiades cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chief government of Athens, the nobility or the commonalty, and did but seek all the devices and ways he could, to return again if it might be possible, in any manner of sort, and that he did but curry favour with the nobility, blaming and accusing the people, he stood altogether against the motion; whereupon Alcibiades' device was not followed.....

7. Now the common people that remained still in the city, stirred not, but were quiet against their wills, for fear of danger, because there were many of them slain, that boldly took upon them in open presence to resist these four hundred [of the nobility]. But those that were in the camp in the ile³ of Samos, hearing these news, were so grievously offended, that they resolved to return incontinently⁴ again unto the haven of Piræa. First of all, they sent for Alcibiades, whom they chose their captain; then they commanded him straightly⁵ to lead them against these tyrants, who had usurped the liberty of the people of Athens. But nevertheless he did not herein, as another would have done in this case, seeing himself so suddenly crept again in favour with the common people: for he did not think he should incontinently please and gratify them in all things, though they had made him now their general over all their ships and so great an army; being before but a banished man, a vacabond⁶, and a fugitive. But to the contrary, as it became a general worthy of such a charge, he considered with himself that it was his part wisely to stay those who would in a rage and fury carelessly cast themselves away, and not suffer them to do it. And truly Alcibiades was the cause of the preserving of the city of Athens at that time from utter destruction. For if they had suddenly (according to their determination) departed from Samos to go to Athens: the enemies, finding no man to let⁷ them, might easily have won all the country of Ionia, of

¹ restrain.² notice.³ isle.⁴ at once.

*Alcibiades
called home
from exile.*
⁵ straightly,
strictly.

⁶ vagabond,
wanderer.⁷ stop.

Hellespont, and of all the other isles¹ without stroke striking, whilst the Athenians were busy fighting one against another in civil wars, and within the compass of their own walls. This Alcibiades alone, and no other, did prevent, not only by persuading the whole army, and declaring the inconvenience thereof, which would fall out upon their sudden departure: but also by intreating some particularly² apart, and keeping a number back by very force.....

8. Now Alcibiades, desirous in the end to see his native country again (to speak more truly, that his country-men should see him) after he had so many times overthrown their enemies in battle, he hoisted³ sail and directed his course towards Athens, bringing with him all the galleys of the Athenians richly furnished and decked all about with skutchines⁴ and targets⁵, and other armour and weapon gotten amongst the spoils of his enemies. Moreover, he brought with him many other ships which he had won and broken in the wars, besides many ensigns and other ornaments: all which being counted together, one with the other, made up the number of two hundred ships. Furthermore, where Duris Samian writeth (who challengeth⁶ that he came of his house) that at his return one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the flute (that had won certain of the Pythian games) did play such a note, that at the sound thereof the galley-slaves would keep stroke with their oars, and that Callippides, another excellent player of tragedies, playing the part of a comedy, did stir them to row, being in such players' garments as every master of such science useth commonly to wear, presenting himself in theatre or stage before the people to shew his art; and that the admiral⁷ galley, wherein himself was, entered the haven with a purple sail, as if some maske⁸ had come into a man's house after some great banquet made: neither Ephorus, nor Theopompus, nor Xenophon, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, methinks it should not be true that he (returning from exile after so long a banishment, and having passed over such sorrows and calamities as he had sustained) would so proudly and presumptuously shew himself unto the Athenians. But merely⁹ contrary, it is most certain that he returned in great fear and doubt. For when he was arrived in the haven of Piræa, he would not set foot a-land¹⁰, before he first saw his nephew Euryptolemus, and divers other of his friends, from the hatches of his ship, standing upon the sands in the haven's mouth: who were come thither to receive

¹ isles.

² separately.

³ hoisted.

Alcibiades' honourable return into his country.

⁴ escutcheons.

⁵ shields.

⁶ claims

⁷ admiral's.

⁸ masque, entertainment.

⁹ wholly.

¹⁰ ashore.

and welcome him, and told him that he might be bold to land, without fear of anything. He was no sooner landed, but all the people ran out of every corner to see him, with so great love and affection, that they took no heed of the other captains that came with him, but clustered all to him only, and cried out for joy to see him. Those that could come near him, did welcome and imbrace¹ him : but all the people wholly followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers upon his head : and those that could not come near him saw him afar off, and the old folks did point him out to the younger sort. But this common joy was mingled notwithstanding with tears and sorrow, when they came to think upon their former misfortunes and calamities, and to compare them with their present prosperity : waying² with themselves also how they had not lost Sicilia, nor their hope in all things else had failed them, if they had delivered themselves and the charge of their army into Alcibiades' hands, when they sent for him to appear in person before them. Considering also how he found the city of Athens in manner put from the segniory³ and commandment of the sea ; and on the other side, how their force by land was brought into such extremity, that Athens scantly⁴ could defend her suburbs, the city self⁵ being so divided and turmoiled with civil dissension : yet he gathered together those few and small force that remained, and had not only restored Athens to her former power and sovereignty on the sea, but had made her also conqueror by land. Now the decree for his repair home again passed before by the people, at the instant request of Callias, the son of Callæchrus, who did prefer⁶ it : as he himself did testify in his Elegies, putting Alcibiades in remembrance of the good turn he had done him, saying :

I was the first that moved, in open conference,
The people's voice to call thee home, when thou wert banish'd
hence,
So was I eke the first which thereto gave consent,
And therefore may I boldly say, by truth of such intent :
I was the only mean⁷ to call thee home again,
By such request, so rightly made, to move the peoples vain.
And this may serve for pledge, what friendship I thee bear :
Fast sealed with a faithful tongue, as plainly shall appear.

But notwithstanding, the people being assembled in council, Alcibiades came before them, and made an oration : wherein he first lamented all his mishaps, and found himself grieved a little with the wrongs they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the

end to his cursed fortune, and some spiteful god that envied his glory and prosperity. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to have advantage of them : and therewithal persuaded the people to be of good courage, and afeard¹ of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crowns of gold, and chose him general again of Athens, with sovereign power and authority both by land and by sea. And at that very instant it was decreed by the people that he should be restored again to his goods, and that the priests Eumolpides should absolve him of all their curses, and that the heralds should with open proclamation revoke the execrations and cursings they had thundered out against him before, by commandment of the people. Whereto they all agreed and were very willing, saving Theodorus the bishop, who said : " I did neither excommunicate him nor curse him, if he hath done no hurt to the commonwealth." Now Alcibiades flourished in his chiefest prosperity, yet were there some notwithstanding that disliked² very much the time of his landing, saying it was very unlucky and unfortunate.....

9. For if ever man was overthrown and envied for the estimation they had of his valour and sufficiency, truly Alcibiades was the man. For the notable and sundry services he had done won him such estimation of wisdom and valiantness, that where he slacked³ in any service whatsoever, he was presently⁴ suspected, judging the ill success not in that he could not, but for that he would not : and that where he undertook any enterprise, nothing could withstand or lie in his way. Hereupon the people persuading themselves, that immediately after his departure, they should hear that the ile⁵ of Chio was taken, with all the country of Ionia, they were angry they could have no news so suddenly from him as they looked for. Moreover, they did not consider the lack of money he had, and specially making war with such enemies, as were ever relieved with⁶ the great king of Persia's aid, and that for necessity's sake he was sundry times driven to leave his camp, to seek money where he could get it, to pay his soldiers and to maintain his army. Now for testimony hereof, the last accusation that was against him was only for this matter. Lysander being sent by the Lacedæmonians for admiral and general of their army by sea, used such policy with Cyrus the king of Persia's brother, that he got into his hands a great sum of money : by means whereof he gave unto his mariners four obols a day for their wages, where before

Alcibiades oration to the people.

¹ afraid.

Alcibiades chosen general with sovereign authority.

² disliked.

³ grew slack.

⁴ at once.

⁵ isle.

Lack of money, the occasion of the overthrow of the Athenians' army by sea.

⁶ by.

they were wont to have but three, and yet Alcibiades had much ado to furnish his with three only a day.....

Alcibiades' dream in Phrygia before his death.

¹ rumour.

² cloak.

Alcibiades' death. Timandra buried Alcibiades.

10. Now was Alcibiades in a certain village of Phrygia, with a concubine of his called Timandra. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his concubine's apparel, and how she, dandling him in her arms, had dressed his head, frizzled his hair, and painted his face, as he had been a woman. Other say that he thought Magæus strake off his head, and made his body to be burnt : and the voice¹ goeth, this vision was but a little before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it on fire round about. Alcibiades, spying the fire, got such apparel and hangings as he had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to have put it out : and so, casting his cloke² about his left arm, took his naked sword in his other hand, and ran out of the house, himself not once touched with fire, saving his clothes were a little singed. These murderers, so soon as they spied him, drew back and stood asunder, and durst not one of them come near him, to stand and fight with him : but afar off they bestowed so many arrows and darts on him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, Timandra went and took his body, which she wrapped up in the best linen she had, and buried him as honourably as she could possible, with such things as she had, and could get together.....

NOTES.

Page 1, l. 2 from bottom. The word *who* refers to Coriolanus, not to his mother. Amyot has—"et fit voir par experience," &c.

P. 3, l. 11. *were*; so in ed. 1612; *are*, ed. 1631.

l. 14. *bestrid* (1612); *bestird*, a misprint (1631).

P. 7, l. 8. *than*; spelt *then*, here and elsewhere, in the early editions.

l. 23. *Latius*. So in the old editions, both in the text and side-note. But we should read *Lartius*, as in Amyot.

P. 11, l. 20. *Soter*; Gk. σωτήρ, a saviour. *Callinicos*, Gk. καλλινίκος, gloriously triumphant.

l. 23. *Phiscon* (1612); *Piscon* (1631). More properly *Physcon*, from Gk. φύσκων, i.e. fat-paunch, a nickname of the fifth Ptolemy; Diog. Laert. l. 81. *Grypos*, Gk. γρυπός, hook-nosed.

l. 24. *Euergetes*; Gk. εὐεργέτης, a benefactor. *Philadelphes*; it should rather be *Philadelphos*, Gk. φιλάδελφος.

l. 26. *Eudæmon*; Gk. εὐδαίμων, fortunate. It refers to Battus the Second, surnamed Eudæmon, reigned about B. C. 583 to 560.

l. 29. *Antigones*, i.e. Antigons; or rather, Antigoni. Referring to Antigonus Doseon, king of Macedonia, died B. C. 220.

l. 31. *Lamyros*. Generally spelt *Lathyrus*, Gk. Λάθουρος, of uncertain meaning. It alludes to Ptolemy Soter II., surnamed also Lathyrus or Lathuros, who died B. C. 81.

l. 36. *Quick-fly*, in the old editions *quick-flie*; clearly used here in the sense of *rapid*. Amyot has "prompt."

P. 12, l. 16. That *fall out* here means *take place*, is clear from Amyot, who has—"qui estoient necessairement ensuyvis de leurs diuisions," &c.

P. 13, l. 1. The French text is—"Parquoy les Consulz feirent une rolle de ceux qu'ilz entendoient enuoyer à Velitres, pour y habiter en forme de Colonie, et feirent aussi tout ensemble une leuee des autres, qui demeuroient à Rome," &c.

P. 15, l. 9 from bottom. "To beware of *self-will*, which belongs to the family of solitude, is Plato's phrase of caution to Dion (Epist. iv. p. 321). See the life of Dion [in Plutarch], where it is repeated more than once."—CLOUGH.

P. 16, l. 6. The word *used* is probably meant to be a past participle here rather than a past tense, as the French text has "bien accoustumé de tout temps de l'accompagner et honorer."

P. 17, l. 19. *the city* (1612); *their city* (1631).

P. 20, l. 18. *Nundinæ* (derived from *novem*, nine, *dies*, day), the ninth day, the Roman market-day, when the country people who came to market assisted also in the transaction of public business.

l. 28. *Clodius* (1612); but *Claudius* (1631), which seems to be a correction, and has therefore been adopted.

P. 21, l. 5. *burden him* (1612); *burden them* (1631), wrongly.

P. 23, l. 14 from bottom. The original Greek runs thus—*Θυμῷ μάχασθαι χαλεπὸν δ γάρ αὖν θέλει, ψυχῆς ὠνεῖται*. Clough says it is from Heraclitus, and quoted in two other places by Plutarch, and also by Aristotle.

The passage from Homer is from Helen's description of Ulysses, where she says—

ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων κατέδυν πόλιν εὐρύγυιαν;

Odys. iv. 246.

P. 25, l. 24. *into his mind* (1612); *in his mind* (1631).

P. 26, l. 13. A *limmer* is certainly the shaft or pole of a carriage, and hence North says below that it is "the wood that runneth into the axle-tree." This is not the right meaning of *furca*, however, since it really signified a forked prop, such as would support the pole of a carriage.

Furca might have been translated by the provincial English word *nape*, which is thus noticed by Ray in his list of North-country words:—"A *nape* or *neap*, a piece of wood that hath two or three feet, with which they bear up the fore-part of a laded wain. This was the *furca* of the ancient Romans thus described by Plutarch, *ξύλον διπλοῦν ὃ ταῖς ἀμάξαις ὑφιστάσι*, which Is. Casaubon (*Exercit. 16, § 77*) thus interprets, *significat esse lignum divisum in altero extremo in duo cornua, quod subicitur temoni plaustrum*, quotes *volunt aurigæ rectum stare plaustrum oneratum*."

P. 27, l. 6. *Thensæ*; more often spelt *tensæ*. See *Tensæ* in Lat. Dict.

P. 29, l. 23. Clough's translation has—"having taken by force Toleria, Lavici, Peda, and Bola," and he adds the note—"Bola, in the list with Toleria, Lavici, and Peda (or Pedom) is obviously meant for a different town from Bola, a few lines below [l. 30], a town not above ten miles from Rome. The spelling in the Greek differs, and there is little doubt that in the latter place *Bolla*, so written in the Greek, should be turned into *Boilla*, the equivalent used for the Latin *Bovillæ*."

P. 33. The first passage cited does not refer to a man, but to Penelope; see *Od. xxi. 1*. The second passage does not appear to be in Homer. For the rest, see *Od. ix. 339, 299*; *Il. i. 188, vi. 161*.

P. 34, line 14 from bottom. The mother of Coriolanus was *Veturia*, and that of his wife *Volumnia*. Plutarch misnames them *Volumnia* and *Virgilia* respectively, and Shakespeare follows him.

l. 6 from bottom. *of some god* (1612); *as some god* (1631), incorrectly.

P. 36, l. 17. *unfortunatly* (1579); *unfortunately* (1595, 1603); *unfortunate* (1612). It may be no more than an accidental coincidence, but Shakespeare has *unfortunate*, not *unfortunately*, in Cor. v. 3. 97.

P. 37, l. 7 from bottom. For *unnaturally* (1603), we find the unmeaning corruption *uniuersally* in the edition of 1612, and in later editions.

P. 39, last line. Clough's note is to this effect: "The sense of the passage from Heraclitus, which is quoted also by Clement of Alexandria (Stromata v. cxiii), is very uncertain. It may merely mean that divine things transcend our powers of belief and knowledge."

P. 41, l. 7. *setting out* (1612); *setting up* (1631). The former means *adorning*, which is the very word used in Clough's translation. The mistaken alteration was easily made.

l. 14. The passage in the life of Numa, here referred to, is as follows. "Numa ordained also, how long time every body should mourn in black. And for a child from three years to ten years of age that died, he ordained they should mourn no more months than it had lived years, and not to add a day more. For he commanded that the longest time of mourning should be but ten months only, and for so long a time at the least he willed the women should remain widows, after the decease of their husbands; or else she that would marry within that time was bound by his order to sacrifice a whole bullock."

P. 46, l. 10. The word "hell" in English of this period often means simply *Hades*, but not here; the French text has—"qu'il rame-noit *des enfers*, par maniere de dire."

P. 56, l. 24. *enemies* (1631); but *enemie* (1612), which seems an inferior reading.

P. 59, l. 3 from bottom. *women propheciers* (1612); *womens prophesies* (1631). The latter is clearly a corruption of the former.

P. 60, l. 5. *with this* (1612); *with the* (1631).

P. 61, l. 3 from bottom. *Luke* (1612); *Luca* (1631); Lucca is meant.

P. 62, l. 16 from bottom. *Ipes*, called by Cæsar *Usipetes*; *Ten-terides*, called *Tencteri*.

l. 4 from bottom. *Canutius*; an error for *Tanusius*, who is mentioned by Suetonius.

P. 66, l. 17. *maruellous* (1612); *maruellously* (1631).

P. 67, l. 8 from bottom. *at Rome* (1612); *of Rome* (1631).

P. 69, l. 25. Clough notes here—"The first basilica built in Rome was the Porcian, built by Cato the Elder...The Fulvian was the next, built by the joint censors Æmilius and Fulvius, adorned by subsequent members of the Æmilian family, and now restored with the help of Cæsar's money. This was the Basilica Paulli."

P. 70, l. 7; sidenote 2. For 'passed not over' read 'cared not for.'
 l. 12. *Sith you* (1612); *Sith he* (1631), wrongly. The best reading would be *Sith ye*.

l. 24. *were some* (1612); *was some* (1631).

P. 72, l. 14 from bottom. The Greek phrase means 'the die is cast.' North uses an equivalent expression.

P. 76, l. 18. *Posideon* (1612); *Posidion* (1631).

P. 77, l. 6. *long a coming* (1612); *long of coming* (1631). The former is better; since *u* is put for *on*, which often has the sense of *in*.

l. 15. *Anius*; the river Aöus, which flows into the sea near Apollonia.

l. 30. Alluded to in 1 Hen. VI. i. 2.

P. 80, l. 17 from bottom. *Gompbes*, an English and French plural form; the proper word is *Gomphi*.

l. 4 from bottom. There is some fault in the original text here, so that it remains incoherent. No doubt something is lost. We may suppose Pompey to have had a dream which he supposed to portend evil; but that his friends, to whom he told it, interpreted it in a contrary manner. See the account given in the Life of Pompey, which Sir Thomas North thus translates:—"The next night following Pompey thought in his dream, that he came into the theatre, and that the people (to honour him) made a marvellous great clapping of their hands; and that he himself did set forth the temple of Venus the conqueror [i.e. Venus Victrix], with many spoils. This vision *partly put him in good courage, and partly made him again doubt* [i.e. fear]; for that he was afraid, because Cæsar's family was descended from this goddess Venus, that his dream did signify, that he [Cæsar] should have the honour of the victory with the spoils he should win of him;" ed. 1612, p. 664.

P. 90, l. 17. *bare* (1612); *beare* (1631), which I prefer.

P. 91, l. 3. *brought* (1612); *wrought* (1631).

P. 97, l. 20. *egge* (1612); *edge* (1631).

P. 103, l. 3. *more afraid than*; old text, *more afraid then*, where *then* is for *than*, as usual. There is no doubt about it, as the French text has—"Cela espouuenta Brutus et Cassius plus que nulle autre chose."

P. 106, l. 15. *stabbed him in*; we should now omit *in*. The French text is—"il luy donna un coup de poignard."

P. 107, l. 16. *unto the Patareians*. This is a mistake of North's; it should be—*concerning the Patareians*, which makes true sense. Otherwise, there is a contradiction in the context. It is not stated to whom the letter was written. The Greek text has—*καὶ περὶ Παταρείων*; the French text has—"Et une autre qu'il leur escrit des Patariens"; as though the letter were written to the Samians. The re-

spective fates of the Xanthians and Patareians are narrated below, pp. 132, 133.

P. 109, l. 29. Deiotarus is the person meant. "King of Lybia" is Plutarch's mistake. See Cicero; Letters to Atticus, XIV.

l. 10 from bottom. *Quidquid uult, ualde uult* were Cæsar's words, as recorded by Cicero, Letters to Atticus, XIV. 1.

P. 123, l. 17. To play *in* these plays; ed. 1612. Ed. 1631 omits *in*.

l. 5 from bottom. "Letters of Brutus to Cicero and to Atticus, in which the phrases quoted by Plutarch occur, have come down to us in a series from Cicero to Brutus (Epist. ad Brutum, I. 16, 17). But this whole collection also is regarded with suspicion."—Clough.

P. 124, l. 18. *Luke* here means *Lucania*; sometimes it stands for *Lucca*. Elea or Velia is a little to the south of Pæstum.

ll. 33, 38. Quoted from Homer, Iliad, VI. 429, 491.

P. 125, l. 10 from bottom. Quoted from the dying words of Patroclus; Homer's Iliad, XVI. 849.

P. 126, l. 19. Plutarch discusses the nature of *βουλιμία* in his Symposiac Questions, VI. 8.

P. 130, l. 10. *Marinus*; sic. *Marius* is meant.

P. 135, l. 3. Quoted from Homer, Iliad, I. 259.

P. 140, l. 15. *Ides* (1612); misprinted *Iles* (1631). Brutus then "gave up" his life by placing it in peril.

P. 144, l. 23. *Brutus* (1631); misprinted *Brutue* (1612).

l. 29. *Was stripped* (1612); *were stripped* (1631).

P. 145, l. 21. *shew* (1612); *view* (1631).

P. 147, l. 10 from bottom. *away* (1612); *away* (1631).

l. 7 from bottom. *for ill luck*; i.e. because they considered it an evil omen.

P. 148, l. 9 from bottom. *youths* (1612); *youth* (1631).

P. 149, l. 3. *all together* (1612); *altogether* (1631).

l. 12. *understanding of it* (1612); ed. 1631 omits *of it*.

l. 13. *out of all parts* (1612); *from all parts* (1631).

l. 18. *stoutly* (1612); ed. 1631 omits.

l. 20. *nor shall* (1612); *or shall* (1631).

l. 21. *fortune*. *For* (1612); *fortune*; *but* (1631).

l. 22. *now for my selfe* (1612); *touching my selfe* (1631).

l. 23. *here, bearing them downe* (1612); *making them belecue* (1631).

The two phrases have the same import.

l. 28. *companions* (1612); *friends* (1631).

l. 34. *such men my friends, as this man here, then enemies* (1612); *such men as this my friends then mine enemies* (1631).

l. 38. *walled in* (1612); *environed* (1631). *every side* (1612); *either side* (1631).

P. 150, l. 3. The original of this verse is l. 332 of the *Medea* of Euripides—*Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθῃ σε τῶνδ' ὅς ἐστις αἰτίος κακῶν*.

l. 10. *athirst* (1612); *thirstie* (1631); and so in l. 11.

l. 16. *told them, all was* (1612); *told him, All is* (1631).

l. 20. For some curious reason, the edition of 1612, generally more correct than that of 1631, has several inferior readings from this point down to the end of the *Life of Brutus*. The variations are all noted, and some of the better readings of the later edition have been inserted into the text.

thought that there was no great number of men (1612); *thought there were not many of his men* (1631).

l. 23. *and from thence* (1612); *and thereupon* (1631).

l. 24. *that he would lift*; ed. 1631 omits *that*.

l. 27. *Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarie long after that, and that he came* (1612); *and a good while after Brutus seeing that Statilius came* (1631).

l. 30. *lighted in* (1612); *fell into* (1631).

l. 34. *at length* (1612); *and at last* (1631).

l. 40. *but that* (1612); ed. 1631 omits *but*.

last line. *We must flie indeed, said he* (1612); *said, we must flie indeed* (1631).

P. 151, l. 6. *I have a perpetual fame of our courage and manhood* (1612); *I leave a perpetual fame of virtue and honesty* (1631). The French text is—*'attendu que ie laisse un gloire sempiternel de uertu'*.

l. 11. *said so* (1612); *so said* (1631).

ll. 11, 12. *themselves* (1612); *him self* (1631).

l. 20. *became afterwards* (1612); *reconciled afterwards to* (1631).

l. 21. *so, shortly* (1612); *and, shortly* (1631).

l. 24. *Cæsar welcomed him at that time* (1612); *Then Cæsar received him at that time* (1631).

l. 7 from bottom. *thief* (1631); misprinted *chiefe* (1612).

P. 152, l. 4. *appeareth* (1612); *seemeth* (1631). *that time* (1612); *the time* (1631).

P. 158, l. 24. "*Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste huic reipublicæ causa belli, causa pestis atque exitii fuit,*" Cicero; and Philippic, cap. 22.

P. 166, l. 9. *Charonites*. "Suetonius says *Orcini*; which was the common name given, even in the law-books, to slaves manumitted by their owner, after his death, by his will. *Charonitæ*, freedmen of Charon, may have been a Greek translation of the Latin *Orcini*, freedmen of Orcus, or the world below; or perhaps it was a more familiar word for the same thing."—Clough.

P. 168, last line. *Cotylon*; so named from the Greek *κοτύλη* (cotyle), a cup.

P. 171, l. 16. *murther* (1612); *murtherer* (1631).

P. 172, l. 24. The reference is to Thebes at the time of the pesti-

lence, described near the beginning of the *Cædipus Tyrannus*, ll. 4 and 5.

l. 33. *Father of mirth* (Charidotes), and *Gentle* (Meilichius) were two epithets of Bacchus; so, in the next line, the words *cruel* and *extreme* refer to two other epithets of the same god, viz. Omestes (the Devourer), and Agrionius (the Savage).

P. 174, l. 14. *to come into Cilicia, as honourably furnished as she could possible* is a parody of a line in Homer, with the substitution of *Cilicia* for *Ida*. The original line is—*ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰδὴν, εὖ ἐντόνασαν ἔαυτήν*; *Iliad*, xiv. 162.

P. 177, l. 19. *returned*, i.e. sent back; French text—*'renuoya le porteur'*.

l. 28. See Plato; Gorgias, chap. 19.

P. 180, ll. 23, 24. Pompey's answer, according to Dion Cassius, was—"In Carinis." This might mean either "in the ships," or "in the Carinæ," which was the name of the quarter at Rome in which stood his father's house; see Clough's note.

P. 182, l. 3. The fountain named Clepsydra is on the north side of the Acropolis.

P. 184, l. 12. See Plato; Phædrus (about the middle of the dialogue). The mind, according to Plato, has two horses, the one willing and obedient, the other unruly and restive. When ill-governed, the latter gains the mastery and hurries us to ruin.

P. 187, l. 12. Ed. 1631 omits *that then*.

l. 13. The French text has—"Si estoient les Parthes en bataille qui regardoient la contenance des Romains a passer, & leur sembloient bien gens de guerre à les ueoir marcher en si bonne ordonnance qu'il n'estoit pas possible de mieulx." The edition of 1612 has—"The Parthians *standing* in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the Romaines as they marched, *they appeared to be* souldiers indeed, *to see them march* in so good array as was possible." The edition of 1631 has—"The Parthians *stood* in battell ray, and beholding the countenance of the Romanes as they marched, *tooke them for* souldiers indeed, *for that they marched* in as good array as was possible." The former translation is more literal; but, as it is somewhat ambiguous, the later version has been here (partly) preferred.

l. 30. *prisoners* (1612); *persons* (1631).

P. 188, l. 13. The edition of 1631 has:—"and on the other side, *Phraortes* knew well enough that the Parthians *would do* any thing *rather then* lie in camp,' &c.

l. 27. *baites and* (1612); ed. 1631 omits these two words.

l. 29. *a horseback* (1612); *on horseback* (1631).

l. 34. *which they should* (1612); *which they could* (1631).

P. 189, l. 9. *break his head*, i.e. trouble himself; French text, *'il ne s'en donnast point de peine.'*

notwithstanding, that (1612); *but* (1631).

l. 10. *presently depart* (1612); *depart presently* (1631). *depart in peaceable manner* (1612); *do it peaceably* (1631).

l. 14. *gallant* (1612); *proper* (1631).

l. 17. *being ashamed for respects* (1612); *for shame* (1631).

l. 18. *willed D. Æ. to do it* (1612); *gaue the charge thereof to D. Æ.* (1631).

l. 27. *by oft frequenting* (1612); *hauing bene long familiar with* (1631); which also omits the words *of long time*.

l. 5 from bottom. *howbeit that* (1612); *howbeit* (1631), which also puts *if he thought good before he would guide him*.

P. 190, l. 8. *the army* (1612); *his army* (1631).

l. 11. *therein...the soldiers* (1612); *thereto...his soldiers* (1631).

l. 18. *far from thence* (1612); *farre off* (1631).

l. 30. *Thereby* (1612); *Hereby* (1631).

l. 37. *commanded* (1612); *accustomed* (1631).

P. 191, l. 9. *they sent* (1612); *sent* (1631).

l. 13. Ed. 1631 omits *that* before *through*.

l. 18. *Then seeing* (1612); *and seeing* (1631).

l. 20. *but there* (1612); *where* (1631).

l. 29. *front* (1612); *affront* (1631).

l. 30. Ed. 1631 omits *that they*.

P. 192, l. 15. Ed. 1631 omits *that* before *was*.

P. 194, l. 8. *was gone* (1612); *went* (1631).

l. 9. *he* omitted in ed. 1612; supplied from ed. 1631.

l. 12 from bottom. *shewed* (1612); *shew* (1631).

P. 196, l. 24. *possible speed* (1612); *speed possible* (1631).

P. 197, l. 5 from bottom. *sixth* (1612); *sixt* (1631).

P. 199, l. 8. *Blanchbourg* is a name borrowed from Amyot; the place was called the White Village or White Town.

P. 205, l. 25. *of which they were agreed on* (1612); *that they were agreed of* (1631).

P. 206, l. 27. *their joys*. The Latin term is *deliciæ*. Augustus was fond of being waited on by little pages.

P. 207, l. 7. "The Battle of the Giants with the gods was a piece of sculpture in the south wall of the Acropolis."—Clough.

l. 17. *Antoniad*. The nominative case is rather *Antonias*; but we speak in the same way of the *Iliad*. Such words in English most often follow the accusative form of the noun; and occasionally, the genitive. *Iliad* is probably a short form of *Iliados*.

P. 208, l. 9 from bottom. The place meant is Toryne. The Greek *toryne* (τορύνη) means a ladle. Clough's translation is better, viz.—"We may well be frightened if Cæsar has got hold of the Ladle!"

P. 212, l. 7. "Arruntius commanded in Cæsar's centre;" Clough.

P. 214, l. 11 from bottom. *In another place*; see page 149 of this volume.

P. 215, l. 14 from bottom. "Two passages are extant in the Comedies of Aristophanes in which Timon is mentioned—the 1549th of the *Birds*, in which Prometheus calls himself a Timon, a sort of god-misanthrope among the deities, and lines 805—820 of the *Lysistrata*, where his solitary, manhating life is briefly depicted. Plato, the comic poet, was another contemporary. So also was Phrynichus, a fragment of whom, describing Timon's habits, is preserved by a grammarian. But it seems to have been in the next century by Antiphanes, one of the two great leaders of the second or Middle Attic Comedy (quoted by Plutarch, Vol. v. p. 10, as ridiculing Demosthenes), that Timon was elevated to be the ideal of the misanthrope, and made the vehicle for general invective on mankind. Antiphanes wrote a play called *Timon*. This passage in Plutarch is the most historical account that we have of Timon, though it is from Lucian's dialogue in the century following Plutarch that the modern representations have been chiefly derived. Some have thought that Lucian probably copied Antiphanes, but this is quite conjectural."—Clough.

l. 2 from bottom. "The Flagons or *Choës*, was [the name of] the second day of the Anthesterian feast of Bacchus, and was observed by the Athenians as a special day of conviviality, when they met in parties, and drank together;" Clough. "Ol *Xôes*, the Pitcher-feast, the second day of the Athenian Anthesteria, on the twelfth day of Anthesterion; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 961, 1076, 1211;" Liddell and Scott.

P. 216, l. 23. *not his* (1612); *not this* (1631).

P. 217, l. 8. *Ἀμιμητόςβιος*, inimitable in one's life; Liddell and Scott.

l. 10. *Συναποθνήσκω*, to die together with; Liddell and Scott. "It was a name well known upon the stage. There were two, if not three comedies, called the *Synapothneskontes*, and one of them had been translated into Latin by Plautus as the *Commorientes*;" Clough.

P. 224, l. 12 from bottom. Homer has—

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω;

Il. II. 204.

i.e. 'the rule of many is not a good thing; let there be but one ruler.' By substituting *Cæsar* in place of *κοίρανος* (ruler), we have:—

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίῃ—

i.e. 'for there to be too many Cæsars is not a good thing.'

P. 226, l. 6. *Octavia* (1612); *Octavius* (1631).

P. 228, l. 8. For *in a hollow razor*, Amyot has "dans une petite rape ou estrille." Cotgrave has:—"Rape, a raspe or a rough file;" and—"Estrille, a horse-combe; a curry-combe."

l. 15. *little pretty*; French, "fort petites."

l. 11 from bottom. The seven children of Antony by three wives were as follows: His *first* wife was Fulvia, who had two sons, the elder being Marcus Antonius, here called Antyllus; and the younger Julius Antonius, here called simply Antonius. The *second* was Octavia, whose two daughters were both named Antonia. The *third*, Cleopatra, whose children were Alexander, Cleopatra, and Ptolemy; the two former being twins. The three emperors of Antony's race were descended from Octavia. The elder Antonia married Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and their son was the 'Ænobarbus' mentioned on p. 229, l. 20; who, again, was the father of Lucius Domitius, better known as the emperor Nero. The younger Antonia married Drusus (brother of Tiberius), their sons being Germanicus and the emperor Claudius. The son of Germanicus was the emperor Caius Caligula. Thus Claudius was Antony's grandson, whilst Caligula and Nero were his great grandsons.

P. 230. In the third line of the verse at the beginning, the edition of 1631 has *statues* for *statutes* (1612).

P. 231, l. 20. *Marcus* (1612); *Marcus* (1631). The person meant is L. Marcus Philippus, the step-father of Augustus.

l. 26. *after Suetonius*. The contents of the rest of this page, and of pp. 232, 233, may be found (but at greater length) in Suetonius' Life of Augustus; capp. lxii.—xcii.

P. 234, l. 16 from bottom. For *did* (1631), the ed. of 1612 oddly has *stid*, by a misprint.

P. 235, l. 12 from bottom. The Latin phrase "interdicere alicui aqua et igni," to forbid one the use of water and fire, was equivalent to a sentence of exile, or banishment from Italy.

P. 242, l. 24. *Salvidienus*; misprinted *Suluidienus*: 1612, 1631.

l. 27. *into Gaule* (1612); *to Gaule* (1631).

P. 245, l. 7. *outbraue* (1612); *ouerbraue* (1631).

l. 10. *amount* (1612); *mount* (1631).

P. 246, l. 13. After *Brutus*, the word *did* is to be understood. For the account of Portia's death, see p. 151.

l. 22. *Nice*, Nicæa, in Bithynia. *Pergame*, Pergamos. See Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom. lib. li. cap. 20.

P. 247, l. 9 from bottom. *customers*, either (1) tax-gatherers; or (2) tax-payers (?). The former meaning is the proper one, and is, I believe, the one intended; cf. Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom. lib. liii. cap. 15. The context, at first sight, seems to suggest the latter meaning.

P. 249, l. 6. The "long discourse" may be found in Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom. lib. liii. capp. 3—10.

P. 252, l. 2. Cf. Suetonius, Vita Augusti, cap. 35.

P. 259, l. 3. It is curious that the word *ile* is, for once, spelt

isle, in this place; but, as it is a quite unusual spelling in North's Plutarch, I retain the spelling *île*, to prevent confusion.

P. 269, l. 11. *deuouring* (1612); *pinig* (1631).

l. 15. *amongst men, he shut* (1612); *amongst them, shut* (1631).

P. 270, l. 19. *Augustus* (1612); *but Augustus* (1631).

l. 21. *in asking of him also* (1612); *in saying unto him* (1631).

l. 27. *obtained* (1612); *ordained* (1631).

l. 31. *came again* (1612); *he came again* (1631).

P. 271, l. 20. *did tollerate* (1612); *tollerated* (1631).

l. 26. *little son* (1612); *grandchild* (1631). The latter reading is a gloss upon the former.

P. 272, l. 3. *corps of guard* (1612); *corps de guard* (1631). The latter seems the better reading.

l. 5. *to bear the ordinary price* (1612); *to the ordinary price* (1631).

l. 9. *enclined* (1612); *inclined* (1631).

P. 275, l. 19. *fearing some encounter of Varus*, i. e. some encounter like that in which Varus perished; see the account of this on p. 274.

P. 279, l. 10. *Corynetes*, i. e. Gk. κορυνήτης, a club-bearer, from κορύνη, a club.

l. 20. *Pityocantes*, i. e. Gk. πιτυοκάμπτης, the pine-bender; from *πίτυς*, a pine, and *κάμπτω*, I bend. It is said that Sinnis used to kill travellers by tying them to two pine-trees which he had bent down till they almost met, and which he then suddenly let go.

l. 29. *stube*, i. e. Greek στοβή, also called *φέως*, a prickly plant, supposed to be the *Poterium spinosum* of Linnæus.

P. 280, l. 4. The Cronian festival, or Saturnalia, in honour of Saturn, was celebrated on the 12th day of the month Hecatombæon, hence sometimes called *μὴν κρόνιος*, or the Cronian month. This month corresponds rather to the latter half of July and the first half of August than to the month of June.

l. 19. *shewed* (1612); *sheweth* (1631).

P. 281, l. 11. A reference to the two lines:—

σύμμικτον εἶδος κάποφώλιον βρέφος—
ταύρου μεμύχθαι καὶ βροτοῦ διπλῇ φύσει.

Eurip. *Thes.* fr. VII.

l. 27. The reference given in the margin to Pliny, *Lib.* iv. c. 2, [really c. 11] is of little service. Pliny merely says that the Bottiæi were a people of Thracia.

P. 282, l. 3 from bottom. *Cybernesia*, Gk. κυβερνήσια or Pilot's Feast, a festival instituted at Athens in honour of the steersman of Theseus; derived from Gk. κυβερνᾶν, Lat. *gubernare*, to steer.

P. 283, l. 2. *Delphinion*, Lat. Delphincum; a temple of Apollo at Athens.

1. 3. *hicetaria*, Gk. *ἱκετήρια* (sub. *ἐλάτα*, *ράβδος*), an olive-branch which a suppliant held in his hand as a symbol of his condition and claim (Liddell and Scott).

1. 6. *March*. The original has *μουνυχίων*, the name of the tenth Attic month, answering to the latter part of April and the beginning of May; in which was held the festival (here referred to) of the Munychian Artemis.

1. 15. *Epitragia*, rather, 'the goddess of the he-goat'; from Gk. *τράγος*, a he-goat.

P. 285, l. 3 from bottom. *Asty*, i. e. Gk. *ἄστυ*, the 'city' or 'upper town' of Athens, as distinguished from the Peiræus.

last line. *Panathenæa*, i. e. festival of all the united Athenians.

P. 286, l. 3. *Metacia*, Gk. *τὰ μετακία*, a feast at Athens, to commemorate the change of abode (*μετοικία*) which took place when Theseus settled the greater number of Athenian citizens in the city. This Feast of Migration was held on the 16th day of Hecatombæon.

P. 287, l. 27. *Boedromia*, a festival held in the month named Boedromion, i. e. the third Attic month, corresponding to the latter half of September and the beginning of October.

1. 31. *Chrysa*, i. e. golden; meaning the golden figure of Victory. *Pnyce*, the Pnyx (*πνύξ*); the place at Athens where the assemblies of the people were held.

1. 36. *little god Chalcodus*; rather, the demigod (or hero) Chalcondon.

l. 2 from bottom. *Lucium*, i. e. the Lyceum or gymnasium, near the temple of Apollo Lycens.

P. 289, l. 37. In the original, the daughter's name is *Κόρη*, i. e. the girl or daughter; under which name Proserpine or Persephone was worshipped in Attica, the mother's name being Demeter.

P. 292, l. 1. See Aristoph. *Vespæ*, 44, and observe North's marginal note. Aristophanes means that Alcibiades used to pronounce *τ* like *λ*.

P. 293, l. 15. Alluding to the story of Apollo and Marsyas.

P. 294, l. 13. *Medias*, i. e. Meidias. See Demosthenes' oration against Meidias, ed. Bekker, sect. 143.

P. 295, l. 26. This passage and the next are from Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 1445, 1452.

P. 299, l. 22. This is said of Helen by Electra, in Euripides, *Orestes*, l. 129.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

(N. B. The numbers refer to the pages.)

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| Abra, 50 | Alexas, 218 | Apollonius, 44 |
| Abydos, 101 | Alexia, 66, 67 | Aponius, 240 |
| Accia, 179, 230 | Almaia, 264 | Appian way, 46 |
| Achillas, 86 | Almaines (Germans), 249 | Appianus, 236 |
| Achilles, 299 | Alps, 51, 54, 60—62, &c. | Appius, 61 |
| Acilius, 56, 124 | Amazonion, 287 | Apuleius, 238, 266 |
| Actium, 151, 208, 213—216,
246, 266 | Amazons, 286, 287 | Aquitain, 252 |
| Adallas, 207 | Ambiorix, 64 | Aquitans, 243 |
| Adrastus, 288 | Amimetobion, 176, 217 | Arabia, 184, 185, 207, 215 |
| Adriatic, 65, 206, 269 | Amphissa, 176 | Arabians, 176 |
| Ædoneus, 289, 290 | Amyntas, 207, 209 | Arax, 58 |
| Ægeus, 280—284 | Anaxenor, 172 | Araxes, 197, 199 |
| Ægina, 258 | Ancharia, 179 | Arcadia, 95 |
| Ægles, 284 | Andasius, 275 | Arcadians, 3 |
| Ælianus, Æmilius, 268 | Androgeus, 281 | Archelaus, 156, 207 |
| Ænobarbus, Domitius, 189, 229 | Andromache, 124 | Archippus, 292 |
| Æques, 41 | Anienes, 93 | Ardetus, 287 |
| Æschylus, 288 | Anitius, 87 | Arethusa, 185 |
| Æthiopian, 147 | Anius, 77 | Argives, 288 |
| Æthiopians, 176 | Annalis, L. Villius, 237 | Argos, 298 |
| Æthra, 278 | Anthemion, 14 | Ariadne, 283, 284 |
| Afranius, 8c, 90 | Antiates, 9, 13, 20, 21 | Ariminum, 72 |
| Africa, 56, 88, 90, 110, &c. | Anticaton, 90 | Ariovistus, 59, 60 |
| African, Scipio, 88 | Anticyra, 214 | Aristobulus, 155 |
| Africk (Africa), 68 | Antigoni, 11 | Aristocrates, 214 |
| Agamemnon, 80 | Antigonus, 184 | Ariston, 106 |
| Agatharcus, 296 | Antiochus, 106, 182, 294 | Aristophanes, 215, 291, 295 |
| Agraula, 297 | Antiope, 286, 287 | Aristotle, 282 |
| Agrippa, C., 261 | Antistius, 125 | Arles, 262 |
| Agrippa, L., 261 | Antium, 23, 40, 122 | Armenia, 87, 183, 185, 197—
203, 268 |
| Agrippa, M., 128 | Antius, 238 | Armeniaes, 202, 203, 259 |
| Agrippa, Menenius, 6 | Anton, 156 | Arrius, 223, 224 |
| Agrippa, 183, 210, 212, 218,
229—232, &c. | Antoia, 229 | Arruntius, 212, 257 |
| Agrippina, 229, 232 | Antoniad, 207 | Artabazus, 186, 198 |
| Ajax, 291 | Antonians, the, 207 | Artavasdes, 185, 259 |
| Alba, 95, 207 | Antonius, C., 127, 128, 161,
166, 230 | Artemidorus, 99 |
| Albanians, 183 | Antonius, L., 166, 178 | Artorius, 141 |
| Albinus, 98, 100, 114, 121, 163 | Antonius, M., 70, 71, 82, &c. ;
life of, 153—229 | Arvernians, 66; Avernians, 65 |
| Alcibiades, 215, 291, &c. | Antonius, P., 45 | Ascalon, 106 |
| Alcinæon, 291 | Antonius, the Cretan, 153 | Asia, <i>i. e.</i> Asia Minor, 87, &c. |
| Alcmena, 278 | Antonius, young, 177, 228 | Asinius, 160, 161 |
| Alexander of Antioch, 195,
196 | Antyllus, 217, 224, 228 | Aspreus, Nonius, 266 |
| Alexander, son of Cleopatra,
184, 202 | Anytus, 14 | Asturians, 253, 254, 258 |
| Alexander the Great, 52, 158,
202, 223, 259 | Apemantus, 215, 216 | Atellius, 139 |
| Alexandria, 85, 86, 156, 176,
198, &c. | Aphidoes (Aphidnæ), 289 | Athenians, 76, 171, 258 |
| Alexandrians, 87, 177 | Aphidius, 289 | Athens, 81, 182, 200, 204, 207,
214, &c. ; 280, &c. |
| | Apollo, 3, 172, 250, 280, 293 | Atlanticum, sea, 63 |
| | Apollodorus, 86 | Atropatane, 186 |
| | Apollonia, 76, 77, 123, 126,
127, 166, 231 | Attalus, 207 |
| | | Attica, 284, 285, 298 |

- Atticus, 277
 Atticus, Pomponius, 130
 Aufidius, T., 23, 24, 29, 40
 August, 287
 Augusta Praetoria, 255, 263
 Augustus, name of, 234, 231
 Aurelia, 49, 50
 Avernians, 65; Arvernians, 66

 Babylon, 194
 Bacchaulians, 91
 Bacchantes, 117
 Baccherians, 80
 Bacchus, 50, 172, 174, 207, 220
 Bactrians, 185
 Balbus, Accius, 230
 Balbus, Ampius, 240
 Balbus, Cornelius, 95, 259
 Basques, 253
 Bastarnes, 247, 265
 Battes (Batti), 11
 Belgæ, 60, 61
 Belgica, Gallia, 253
 Bellerophon, 33
 Benevent, 276
 Berytus, 199
 Bibulus, 115, 125, 157
 Bibulus, Calphurnius, 53
 Bithynia, 43, 87, 128, 246, 286
 Blanchbourg, 199
 Bocchus, 207
 Boedromia, 287
 Bolanians, 29
 Bolonia, 235
 Bombice, 185
 Breucians, 273
 Breucus, Bato, 273
 Bosphorus, 287
 Botticicans, 281
 Brigas, 144
 Britain, 56
 Brundisium, 74, 76, 77, 159, 183, 208, 242—246
 Bruti, 96
 Brutus, Decius, 98, 236
 Brutus, Junius, 6, 13, 105
 Brutus, M., 96, &c.; life of, 105—152
 Bulogasses, 265
 Burgonians, 66
 Buthrotus, 127
 Byllis, 127
 Byzantium, 123

 Cæcus, 12
 Cælius, 210
 Cæpio, Fannius, 257
 Cæpio, Servilius, 54
 Cæsar; *see* Argument to CHAP. II.; p. 42
 Cæsar, L., 169, 170
 Cæsar, Octavius, 101, 104, &c.; *and see* Chap. V., p. 230
 Cæsarion, 87, 201, 224
 Caius, 11
 Caius, son of Augustus, 267—270
 Caius (the emperor), 229
 Calamus, 259
 Calenus, 81, 111
 Callæschrus, 302
 Callecians, 52
 Callias, 302
 Callimachus, 216
 Callinicos, 11
 Callipides, 301
 Calphurnia, 54, 117; Calpurnia, 98, 99, 165
 Calvinus, Cn., 243
 Calvinus, Domitius, 82
 Calvisius, 205
 Calydonia, 288
 Canidius, 183, 191, 203, 209—216
 Caninius, 107
 Canobus, 178
 Cantabrians, 253, 255, 258, 260
 Canulatus, 148
 Canutius, 62, 123
 Capito, Atteius, 240
 Capito, Fonteius, 184
 Cappadocia, 87, 207, 246
 Carbo, 130
 Carian, 279
 Carisius, 258
 Caruates, 65
 Carthage, 93, 247
 Carystos, 125
 Casca, 110, 117, 119
 Casca, P., 145
 Caspium, sea, 93
 Cassius, 106, &c.
 Cassius of Padua, 268
 Castor and Pollux, 3
 Castricius, 258
 Catiline, 48, 108, 154, 230
 Cato, 7, 44, 49, 53, 54, 62, 68, 79, 80, &c.
 Cato (a book so named), 90
 Cattians, 264, 265
 Catulus, 47—49
 Caucasus, 93, 183
 Celer, 11
 Celtiberians, 253
 Censorinus, 1, 172, 239
 Centauri, 288
 Cephalonia, 244
 Cerberus, 289
 Cercees (Circeii), 29; *see* Circees
 Ceres, 297
 Ceretanians, 243
 Cestius, 240, 256
 Cethegus, 48, 154
 Chæronea, 214
 Charmion, 206, 227
 Charonites, 166
 Chersonesus, 265
 Cherusians, 264, 274
 Chio, 133, 259, 303
 Choæ (libations), 215
 Cholchide (Cholcis), 288

 CHRIST, 269
 Chrysa, 287
 Chrysogonus, 301
 Cicero, 44, 45, 48, 49, 55, &c.
 Cicero, Quintus, 64, 237
 Cicero, the younger, 127
 Cilicia, 71, 174, 184, 202, 207
 Cilicians, 43
 Cimber, Metellus, 100
 Cimber, T., 118—121
 Cimbres, 47; Cimbri, 58, 59, 65
 Cimon, 297
 Cinna, 42, 102, 120, 126, 130, 271
 Cinna (the poet), 122
 Circees (Circeii), 93. *See* Cercees.
 Cisalpine Gaul, 262
 Claudia, 169; *see* Clodia
 Claudius, Appius, 20, 239
 Claudus, 12
 Cleopatra, 85—87, 162, &c.
 Cleopatra (young), 184, 228, 255
 Clepsydra, 182
 Clidemus, 287
 Clinias, 292, 294, 297
 Clitus, 150
 Clodia, 231; *see* Claudia
 Clodius, P., 49—51, 55, &c.; 122, 154, 168, 231
 Clodius (emperor), 229
 Cluiliæ, 30
 Comagena, 207; Commagena, 182
 Cominius, 7, 9, 10, 11
 Como, 262
 Conisces, 254
 Considius, 54
 Coponius, 238
 Coranas, Sicilius, 241
 Corduba, 57
 Corfinium, 74
 Corinth, 93, 213, 259, 280
 Coriolanus; *see* Argument to CHAP. I. p. 1.
 Corioles (Corioli), 7
 Cornelia, 42, 46
 Cornelius, 43, 84, 235
 Cornificius, 81, 87, 128, 240
 Corsica, 253, 273
 Corvinus, 145
 Corynetes, 279
 Cosconius, 87
 Cotta, 64
 Cotylon, 168
 Crassinius, 82
 Crassus, 51, 53, 61, 62, 67, 143, 182, 189, 195
 Crassus (Augustus' lieutenant), 247
 Cratippus, 125
 Creta, 121, 281
 Cretans, 284
 Crispinus, Q., 265
 Crispus, Salustius, 266

- Crouius, 280
 Cumani, 96
 Cupid, 175
 Curio, 49, 69—71, 154, 157
 Curtius (lake), 265
 Cybernesia, 282
 Cydnus, 174
 Cynics, 134
 Cyprus, 62, 184, 201
 Cyrenia, 208
 Cyrus, 158, 194, 303
 Cytheride, 161
 Cyziceniens, 258
 Cyzicum, 128

 Daces (Dacians), 260, 261
 Dacia, 247
 Dædalus, 284
 Dalmatia, 243, 265
 Dalmatians, 273
 Danuby (Danube), 262
 Dardanus, 150
 Decelea, 298
 Deidamia, 289
 Deioneus, 279
 Deiotarus, 209
 Dellius, 174, 206
 Delphes (Delphi), 269, 283
 Delphineon, 283
 Demetriade (Demetrius), 126
 Demetrius, 144
 Demochares, 244
 Demon, 283
 Demosthenes, 294
 Dercetæus, 222
 Desidiates, 272, 273
 Deucalion, 284
 Diadematus, 11
 Diana Orthia, 289
 Dicomes, 209
 Didius, 91
 Dinomacha, 291
 Diomedes, 221
 Dirades, 300
 Dolabella, 44, 45, 87, 107, 111, 126, 160—163
 Dolabella, Cornelius, 226
 Domitius, 87
 Domitius, 74, 80, 203, 209; *see* Æuobarbus
 Domitius, L., 229
 Doson, 11
 Drusus, 229, 232, 262—265
 Duris the Samian, 301
 Dyrrachium, 56, 74, 126

 Eber (Ebro), 254
 Egnaces (Egnatii), 237
 Egypt, 87, 90, 107, 109, &c.
 Egyptians, 84, 86, 156, 178, 210, &c.
 Elea, 124
 Eleusin (Eleusis), 288, 297
 Eleutherus, 288
 Empylus, 107
 Enceladus, Liciuius, 262
 England, 63, 252

 Epaminondas, 4
 Epaphroditus, 223
 Ephesians, 205
 Ephesus, 172, 203, 246
 Ephorus, 301
 Epicadus, 275
 Epicurean, 136
 Epicurus, 100, 138
 Epidaurum, 279
 Epirus, 289
 Epitragia, 283
 Eretria, 258
 Eros, 221
 Ethiopia, 208, 223; *see* Æthiopia.
 Ethiopians, 258
 Eudæmon, 11
 Euergetes, 11
 Eumenes, 207
 Eumenides, 287
 Eumolpides, 297, 303
 Euneus, 286
 Euphrates, 178, 207
 Euphronius, 218
 Euripides, 281, 288, 294
 Euritus, 279
 Europe, 135
 Eurycles, 212, 213
 Euryptolemus, 301
 Eurysaces, 291
 Eutychus, 211

 Fabians, 55
 Falerna, 206
 Faonius, 62, 80, 114
 Faunus, 50
 Faustus, 54, 112
 Fidustus, 240
 Flavius, 96
 Fulvia, 162, 169, 176—9, 184, 204, 217, 224, 228, 231, 242, 243
 Fulvius, 69
 Furcifer, 26
 Furnius, 205

 Gabinus, 126, 155, 159
 Galatia, 246
 Galatians, 207
 Galba, 87
 Gallogrecia, 255
 Gallus, 223
 Gallus, Ælius, 256
 Gallus, Flavius, 190, 191
 Garamantes, 260
 Garonne, 252
 Gascones, 254
 Gaul, 54, 57, 59—65, &c.
 Gauls, 55, 58—65, &c.
 Gelon, 16
 Geminius, 205, 206
 Genoveses, 263
 Genua (Genoa), 263
 Genucius, M., 259
 Germanicus, 229, 271, 272—274
 Germans, 59, 63, 260, 275

 Germauy, 62, 63, 93, 255, 265, 272
 Geta, C. Hosidius, 237
 Getes (Getæ), 209, 247, 260
 Getulia, 255
 Gnidus, 99
 Gnosus, 284
 Graces, 175
 Grecians, 50
 Greece, 17, 44, 45, &c.
 Grypos, 11
 Guidians, 85
 Gylippus, 298
 Gynæcia, 50

 Hala, Servilius, 106
 Hales, 216
 Haterius, 238
 Hebrews, 176
 Hector, 124
 Hedui, 66
 Helen, 158, 289
 Hellanicus, 282, 286, 287
 Hellespont, 301
 Helvetians, 58
 Heraclitus, 39
 Hercules, 156, 184, 207, 278, 279, 286, 288, 290
 Hermus, 287
 Herodes, 207, 216, 218, 246, 256
 Herodotus, 286, 288
 Herostratus, 125
 Hierapolis, 185
 Hipparchus, 213, 218
 Hippias, 161
 Hippodamia, 278
 Hippolyta, 288
 Hircius, 167
 Hirtius, 234
 Homer, 23, 33, 124
 Horace, 270
 Hortalius, 261
 Hortenses, 261
 Hortensius, 71, 126, 128, 171
 Hostilius, Tullus, 1
 Hybræas, 172, 173
 Hyrcania, 93

 Iberians, 183
 Ides, 98, 116, 138, 140
 Illyria, 54, 71, 204, 243, 272, 273
 Illyrians, 203, 272—275
 Illyricum, sea, 207
 India, 259
 Indius, 185, 224
 Ionia, 133, 178, 299, 300, 303
 Ionium, sea, 76, 159, 207, 208
 Ioxides, 279
 Ioxus, 279
 Ipes, 62
 Iras, 206, 227
 Isauricus, 47, 76, 231
 Isis, 202
 Istria, 267
 Italy, 48, 55, 60, &c.

- Janus, temple of, 247, 252, 255, 269
 Jason, 288
 Jewry (Judæa), 184, 207; *see* Jurie
 Jews, 155, 184
 Juba, 88, 89, 90, 255
 Judæa, 246, 269
 Julia, 45, 54, 64, 229—232, 255, 263, 267, 269, 271
 June, 280, 286
 Junia, 110, 246
 Junius, 44
 Junius, T., 238
 Jupiter, 26, 34, 258, 267
 Jurie (Judæa), 216, 218; *see* Jewry
 Justeius, M., 210

 Labeo, 114
 Labienus, 58, 74, 176, 178, 181
 Labienus, T., 240
 Lacedæmon, 145, 289
 Lacedæmonians, 107, 258
 Lachares, 212
 Laciades, 297
 Lælius, 168
 Læna, Popilius, 117, 118
 Lamachus, 297
 Lamia, Ælius, 256
 Lampryas, 176
 Lamyros, 11
 Languedoc, 262
 Laodicea, 259
 Lapithæ, 288, 289
 Larissa, 109, 185
 Latinus, T., 25
 Lavinium, 30
 Lentulus, 48, 69, 71, 154, 158, 260
 Leo, Valerius, 58
 Lepidus, Æmilius, 257
 Lepidus, M., 98, 101, 128, 168, 202—263, 275
 Leuctres (Leuctra), battle of, B.C. 371; 4
 Libo, 159
 Liborius, 113
 Ligarius, Q., 238
 Lilybee (Lilybæum), 243
 Lingones, 66
 Lipare (Lipara), 244
 Livia, 226, 228, 229, 231, 257, 270, 271, &c.
 Livius, T., 84, 98, 269
 Lollius, M., 261, 268
 Lucca, 61
 Lucceius, 238
 Lucilius, 149, 214
 Lucium, 287
 Lucius (son of Augustus), 267—269
 Luctatius, Catulus, 47
 Lucullians, 55
 Lucullus, M., 45, 51
 Luke (Lucania), 124, 125
 Lupercalia, 95, 163
 Lusitanians, 52
 Lybia, 109, 207, 214, 235
 Lycæans, 95
 Lycæania, 207, 255
 Lycia, 133, 270
 Lycians, 131
 Lycurgus, 299
 Lydia, 178, 201
 Lyonnaise (Gallia Lugdunensis), 253
 Lyons, 265
 Lyra (the star so called, α Lyræ), 94
 Lysander, 303
 Lysidices, 278
 Lyssus, 160

 Macedon, 45, 108, 125, 126, 129, 159, 209, 241, 273
 Mæcenat, 183, 246, 248, 258, 266
 Mæntides, 203
 Magæus, 304
 Magnesia, 172
 Manchus, 207
 Marathon, 289
 Marcella, 248
 Marcellus, 69, 70, 157, 228, 255, 257
 Marcellus, C., 179
 Marcomannes, 265, 272
 Mardian, a, 190, 195, 196, 197
 Mardian, 206
 Mardians, 189
 Marinus, 130
 Marius, 43, 46, 47, 55, 59, 153
 Maroboduus, 272
 Mars, 64
 Marseilles, 56, 269, 270
 Martians, house of, 1
 Martius, Ancus, 1
 Marullus, 96
 Mauritania, 245, 255
 Maximus, 93
 Maximus, Valerius, 151
 Medea, 280
 Medes, 176, 194, 199, 201, 202
 Media, 182, 185, 197, 202
 Medias, 294
 Mediterranean, 215
 Megacles, 291
 Megara, 81, 111
 Megarians, 111, 171
 Meleager, 288
 Melius, Spurius, 106
 Menalippus, 279
 Menas, 180, 243
 Menecrates, 180, 286
 Menenius, 239
 Menon, 297
 Mercedonius, 94
 Mesopotamia, 176, 182
 Messala, 139, 140, 141, 144, 151, 245, 252
 Messalinus, Valerius, 271
 Messina, 244, 296

 Metellians, 55
 Metellus, 11, 47, 75
 Metecia, 286
 Metrodorus, 172
 Midas, 50
 Milan, 58
 Miletum, 44, 298
 Minos, 280—284
 Minotaur, 280—283
 Minturnæ, 239
 Minutius, 239
 Misena, 180
 Mithridates, 87, 195, 196, 207
 Modena, 167, 168
 Mœsia, 247
 Mœsians, 265
 Molon, 44
 Molossians, 289
 Molpadia, 288
 Moneses, 185, 195
 Moors, 238
 Munda, 91
 Muræna, L., 257
 Musa, Antonius, 256
 Muses (temple of the), 287
 Mutine (Mutina), 231, 233, 235

 Nabathæans, 184, 256
 Naples, 242
 Narbonense (Gallia Narbonensis), 235
 Narbonne, 252
 Naso, P., 238
 Naucrates, 131
 Nausitheus, 282
 Naxos, 284
 Nepos, 61
 Nereids, 175
 Nero, 229
 Nero, Claudius, 267
 Nero, Drusus, 265
 Nero, T., 231, 232
 Nero, Tiberius Cl., 242
 Nervians (Nervii), 61
 Nicarchus, 214
 Nice (Nicæa), 246; Nicea, 286
 Nicias, 296, 297
 Nicolaus, 151, 152
 Nicomedes, 43
 Nikon, 211
 Nicopolis, 208
 Niger, 12, 200
 Nismes, 262
 Nomentum, 94
 Nonius, 240; *see* Struma
 Novumcomum, 69
 Numa, 1, 26, 41
 Numidians, 88, 89
 Nundinæ, 20
 Nursinians, 242

 Oboda, 256
 Octavia, 179—184, 199—206, 226, 228, 255
 Octavians, 230
 Octavius, 276

- Octavius (Augustus); *see* Ch. V.; *also* 101, 123, 124, 127, 128, 137—142, &c.
 Octavius, M., 210
 Echalian, 279
 Enarus, 284
 Olympus, 225
 Oppius, 57, 58; Q., 239
 Orange, 262
 Oricum, 76
 Ornytus, 279
 Orodes, 181, 182, 185
 Orpheus, 50
 Ostia, 94
 Ostre, 255
 Otho, Salvius, 237
 Ovid, 270
- Pacrus, 182
 Padua, 84, 268
 Pætus, Autronius, 245
 Palladium, 287
 Pallas, 33
 Pamphilia, 265
 Panathenæa, 285
 Pandatarie, isle of, 269
 Pandion, 259
 Pannonia, 243—265
 Pannonians, 245, 263, 275
 Panopio, 239
 Pausa, 167, 234
 Paphlagonia, 207, 246
 Parætonium, 214
 Parthia, 202
 Parthians, 67, &c.; 94, 110, 123, 126, 143, 174—185, &c.
 Pasiphae, 283
 Patareians, 107, 132
 Patras, 207, 259
 Paul, 69
 Paulus, L., 269
 Paulus, Lepidus, 169
 Paynum (*i.e.* pagan), 269
 Pedanians, 29
 Pedius, Q., 235
 Pella, L., 135
 Peloponnesus, 15, 93, 212, 279
 Pelops, 278
 Pelusium, 133, 155, 156, 219
 Pergamencians, 107
 Pergamus, 44; Pergamum, 205; Pergame, 246
 Perigouna, 279
 Periphetes, 279
 Perouse (Ferusium), 231, 242
 Persia, 185, 299
 Persians, 93
 Petra, 215
 Petreius, 75
 Petronius, 258
 Petronius, Granius, 56
 Phæas, 282
 Phalerus, 284
 Phar (pharos), 86; Pharos, 178
 Pharmacusa, 43
 Pharnabates, 181
 Pharnaces, 87
- Pharos, 215; *see* Pharos
 Pharsalia, 80, 88, 96, 108, 109, 133, 160, 208
 Pharos, 178; Phar, 86
 Pherecidas, 286
 Phereclus, 282
 Philadelphes, 11
 Philadelphus, 207
 Philellen, 171
 Philippians, fields, 241
 Philippes (Philippi), 103, 104, 125, 128, 136, 137, 151, 214
 Philippides, 158, 169
 Philippus, M., 231
 Philochorus, 281—283, 286, 288
 Philocæmen, 238
 Philostratus, 224
 Philotas, 176, 177
 Philuscius, 240
 Phœnius, M., 134, 135
 Phœnicia, 178, 184, 202
 Photinus, 206
 Phraata, 186, 188, 198
 Phraataces, 268
 Phraates, 268
 Phraortes, 257
 Phraortes, 185—189, 199
 Phrygia, 304
 Phrygians, 50
 Phrynichus, 300
 Phygea, 297
 Physcon, 11
 Piemont (Piedmont), 263
 Pindarus, 143, 171
 Pinnetes, 273
 Piræa (*i.e.* Piræus), 300
 Piraica, Porta, 287
 Pireuæi (Pyrenees), 252
 Pirithous, 288, 289
 Pisaurum, 206
 Piso, 48, 54, 76
 Piso, Calphurnius, 256, 267
 Piso, L., 265
 Pitheus, 278
 Pityocamtes, 279
 Planasia, 273, 276
 Plancus, 120, 168, 204, 231, 250, 257, 275
 Plato, 15, 106, 177, 184, 215
 Plemminius, 244
 Plotius, C., 239
 Pnyce (Pnyx), 287
 Po, 60, 67, 65
 Polemon, 186
 Pollio, Asinius, 72, 84, 88, 270
 Polybius, 108
 Polytion, 297
 Pompeia, 46, 49—51
 Pompeius, Sextus, 180, 184, 202, 209, 239, 244, 245
 Pompey, 46, 53—55, 60—67, &c.
 Pompey, C., 174
 Pompey, Cn., 157
 Pompey's image, 116, 118
 Pompilius; *see* Numa
 Pompilius, C., 45
- Pont, 87, 90, 207; Pontus, 93
 Portia, 246; Porcia, 115, 117, 151
 Porus, 259
 Poseidon, 76
 Posthumius, 11
 Posthumus, Vibius, 275
 Postumus, Agrippa, 273, 275
 Pothinus, 85, 86
 Priene, 204
 Procnæus, 11, 222, 223
 Proculus, 265
 Proserpina, 289, 297
 Ptolemies, 11
 Ptolemy, 107, 155, 156, 202
 Publicola, 34; 210, 212
 Fyle, 15
 Pythia, 286, 287
 Pythopolis, 287
- Quirinus, Sulpicius, 268
- Ravenna, 274
 Rebitius, Caninius, 93
 Red Sea, 155, 215
 Restio, Antius, 239
 Rhacuspis, 265
 Rhamnus, 197
 Rhetians, 262
 Rheyn (Rhine), 59, 60, 62, 63; Rhein, 253
 Rhodes, 44, 259, 267—270; Rhodon, 224
 Rhodians, 133
 Rhone, 57, 107, 131
 Rhymetalces, 265
 Rome, 1, 2, 3, &c.
 Romulus, 250
 Rubico, 69; Rubicon, 72, 235
 Rufus, 12
 Rufus, Egnatius, 259
 Rufus, Plautus, 259
 Rufus, Sulpicius, 240
- Sabines, 5, 43
 Sacculio, 145
 Salassians, 245, 255
 Salassus, 238
 Salustius, 266
 Salutus, 88
 Salvienus, 242
 Samians, 107
 Sannus, Statius, 240
 Samos, 203, 244, 258, 299
 Saragossa, 254
 Sardiens, 135
 Sardinia, 61, 180, 235, 243
 Sardis, 134, 137
 Sarmentus, 206
 Saturn, 75
 Satyrs, 220
 Scæva, Cassius, 56
 Scambonides, 297
 Scipio, 56, 70, 79, 80, 82, &c.
 Scipios, 55
 Scirus, 282
 Scotus, 81

- Scribonia, 231
 Scythia, 93
 Seleucus, 219
 Sentinates, 242
 Septimius, 238
 Serbius, T., 230
 Serbonides, 155
 Sergius, 161
 Servilia, 106, 108, 109, 151, 246
 Servilians, 96
 Sequanes, 60
 Setium, 94
 Severus, Cassius, 266
 Sextilis (*i. e.* August), 263
 Sibyls, 263
 Sicambrians, 63; Sicambres, 261, 264
 Sicilian, Apollodorus the, 86
 Sicily, 16, &c.; 180, 184, 202, 209, 235, &c.
 Sicinius, 6, 13, 19
 Siculum mare, 207
 Sicyon, 179
 Sidon, 199, 258
 Silicius, P., 128
 Silius, C., 275
 Silvanus, Plautius, 273, 275
 Simonides, 282
 Sinnis, 279
 Smyrna, 129, 130
 Solois, 286
 Solon, 184
 Sophocles, 172
 Sossius, 183
 Soter, 11
 Spain, 51, 52, 57, 61, &c.
 Spaniards, 185
 Sparta, 298
 Spinther, 80, 101
 Statilius, 114, 150
 Strabo, 97
 Strato, 151
 Struma, Nonius, 240
 Suabians, 264, 265
 Suetonius, 231
 Suevians, 63
 Surrentum, 273
 Sybilline, 94
 Sylla, 12, 42, 43, 46, 54, 55, 112, 153, &c.
 Syllanus, M., 206
 Sylleus, 256
 Symbolon, 137
 Synapothenumenon, 217
 Syracusans, 297, 298
 Syracuse, 16
 Syria, 157, 178, 183, 184, 202, &c.
 Syrians, 176
 Tænarus, 213
 Tanusia, 238
 Tarcondemus, 207
 Tarentum, 183, 208, 243
 Tarius, 270
 Tarpeian rock, 19
 Tarquin, 3; Tarquins, 105, 106
 Tarquinius, 230
 Tatianus, 186
 Taureas, 296
 Tauromenion, 244
 Taurus, 210; 281—284
 Taurus, Statilius, 245
 Tegea, 289
 Teuchteres, 261, 263
 Tenterides, 62
 Terracina, 93
 Teutons, 58
 Thallus, 265
 Thapsacus, 89
 Thassos, 137, 144
 Theano, 297
 Thebans, 288, 293
 Thebes, 288
 Themistocles, 185
 Thensæ, 27
 Theodorus, 224, 303
 Theodotus, 85, 133, 134
 Theogenes, 231
 Theomnestus, 125
 Theophilus, 213
 Theophrastus, 294
 Theopompus, 85, 301
 Theorus, 291
 Thermusa, 268
 Theseus; *see* Chap. VI., p. 278
 Thessalians, 84
 Thessalonica, 145
 Thessalus, 297
 Thessaly, 125
 Thoas, 286
 Thracia, 207, 247, 265, 272
 Thucydides, 294
 Thuries (Thurii), 297, 298
 Thurinus (*i. e.* Augustus), 230
 Thyatira, 259
 Thyreus, 218
 Tiber, 6, 93, 121
 Tiberius, 232, 242, 255, 257, 263, &c.
 Tigranes, 259
 Tigrinians, 58
 Timagines, 218, 270
 Timandra, 304
 Timon, 215, 216, 296
 Timoneon, 216
 Tisaphernes, 299
 Tisienus, 244
 Titinius, 143
 Titius, 191, 204, 245
 Titurius, 64
 Tolerinians, 29
 Toranius, 237
 Tornyæ, 208
 Tralles, 84
 Trebellius, 160
 Trebonius, 118, 121, 164
 Tremera, 269
 Trent, 262
 Triumviri, 170, &c.; 235
 Troglodytes, 176
 Troy, 158
 Tullus; *see* Aufidius
 Turin, 263
 Tusculum, 80
 Typhon, 155
 Tyre, 258
 Tyridates, 257
 Ulysses, 23
 Usipetes, 261, 264
 Utica, 89
 Valeria, 34, 35
 Valerius, M., 5
 Var, 252
 Varius, 168
 Varro, 75
 Varro, Terentius, 255
 Varus, Cassius, 238
 Varus, Quintilius, 274, 275
 Velitres (Velitræ), 12, 13
 Vellutus, Sicinius, 6
 Ventidius, 180, 181, 182
 Venus, 174, 175, 283
 Vercingetorix, 65, 67
 Vespillo, Lucretius, 238, 259
 Vestal nuns, 205
 Vetulinius, 240
 Vetus, Antistius, 46
 Vicanians, 29
 Vinicius, 255
 Virgil, 270
 Virgilia, 34
 Volscæ, 7, 23—25, 28, 31—41, 230
 Volumnia, 34, 35, 36
 Volumnius, 145, 147, 150
 Vopiscus, 12
 Xanthians, 107, 131—133
 Xenophon, 194, 301
 Xoutus, 172
 Zarmanus, 259
 Zela, 87

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

IN this Index, the references are to the page, and to the number in the margin. Thus, in the first reference, the word *a-land* will be found on p. 88, opposite the explanation to which the number 3 is prefixed.

The abbreviations s., adj., adv., pron., prep., conj., will be readily understood; but the following are used in a peculiar sense, viz. v. = a verb in the infinitive mood; pt. s. = a verb in the past tense, singular number, *third person*; pt. pl. = the past tense, plural, *third person* (except when "1 p." or "2 p." is subjoined); pp. = past participle.

- A, prep. on; *a-land*, on land, 88. 3; 301. 10.
 Abide, v. to endure, 253. 3; Abidden, pp. undergone, 26. 2; 92. 2; stood against, 59. 7.
 Abord, adv. aboard, 56. 7.
 Abused, pp. contemned, 22. 4; deceived, 173. 4; 201. 3.
 Accustomed, pp. usual, 73. 6.
 Additions, s. pl. titles, 11. 2.
 Advertise, v. to tell, 200. 4; Advertised, pp. told, informed, 216. 4; 289. 1; warned, 60. 4; 64. 3; 125. 4.
 Advertisement, s. notice, information, 300. 2.
 Afeard, adj. afraid, 7. 8; 9. 1; 293. 11; 303. 1.
 Afore, conj. before, 234. 2.
 Against, prep. next to, 63. 8.
 Agreed, pt. s. reconciled, 243. 7.
 All of a gore blood, phr. covered with gore, 115. 6.
 Allow, v. to approve, 251. 2; Allowing, pres. part. approving, 90. 1; Allowed, pt. pl. (they) approved of, 102. 2.
 Almain, s. Germany, 264. 1.
 Almaines, s. pl. Germans, 249. 4.
 Alongst, prep. along, 266. 4.
 Altered, pp. changed, overcome, 36. 1.
 Altogether, all together, 72. 1.
 Amated, pp. disconcerted, 177. 2.
 Ambassade, s. embassy, 32. 2.
 And, conj. if, 112. 2; 292. 2.
 Anker, s. anchor, 44. 2.
 Another, adv. again, secondly, 55. 2.
 Antick, adj. antique, 177. 4.
 Appeach, v. to impeach, accuse, 223. 3.
 Arming-coats, s. pl. armour, 8. 9.
 Arrand, s. errand, 154. 1.
 As, conj. that, 12. 8; 22. 2; 28. 5; 190. 4; as for instance, 61. 6; as if, 161. 5.
 Aspick, s. an asp, 217. 5; 227. 5.
 Assay, v. to try, 64. 6.
 Assays, s. pl. assaults, 66. 1.
 Astonied, pp. astonished, 204. 2.
 At the sharp, phr. with sharp weapons, 113. 5. See *Sharp*.
 Attended, pt. s. waited for, 239. 8; Attend- ing, pres. part. waiting, 240. 2.
 Avoid, v. to depart, 27. 4; to retire, 134. 2.
 Away with, v. to put up with, 54. 5; 79. 5; to endure, 117. 7; 192. 1; *could evil away with*, could ill put up with, 111. 3.
 Away withal, v. to put up with, 188. 2.
 Awry, adv. wrong, 133. 2.
 Baccherians, s. pl. Bacchanalians, 80. 4.
 Bad, pt. s. invited, 102. 6.
 Ballone, s. a game now called *pallone*, in which a large ball is struck with the wrist, which is protected with thick pieces of leather, 233. 2.
 Ban, v. to curse, 297. 7.
 Bankets, s. pl. banquets, 295. 1.
 Barbarous, s. pl. barbarians, 260. 4.
 Bare, pt. s. bore, 11. 1.
 Base, adj. low, inferior, 235. 4.
 Battle, s. battalion, 9. 6; 82. 2; 82. 7; 141. 2; host, 142. 6; squadron, 190. 6.
 Bearing them down, phr. making them be- lieve, 149. 2.
 Beastliness, s. stupidity, 191. 5.
 Became, pt. s. in phr. *became of it*, came of it, 21. 7.
 Because, conj. in order that, 65. 2.
 Bed, s. seat or couch at a banquet, 135. 4.
 Redlem, adj. mad, 134. 4.
 Bemangled, pp. mangled, 102. 4.
 Besides, prep. beside, 73. 7; 81. 6; 100. 2.
 Bestowed, pt. s. employed, 155. 1.
 Betimes, adv. at once, 5. 4.
 Bewray, v. to reveal, 24. 2; 36. 2; 48. 3; Bewrayed, pt. s. betrayed, 124. 5; shewed, 286. 2; Bewrayed, pp. betrayed, 50. 3; 117. 4; 239. 2.
 Bewrayed, pp. bayed, disfigured, 221. 7. *Bewrayed* is a bad spelling; it should have been *bayed*. See Halliwell.
 Bibber, s. tippler, 169. 1.
 Bid, v. to invite, 121. 1.
 Bill, s. a list, 13. 2; a scroll, 99. 6; Bills. pl. scrolls, 267. 2; letters, 97. 2; short letters, 112. 4; written messages, 140. 2; *set up bills*, to publish lists, 128. 4.

- Billed, pp. enrolled, 157. 3.
 Blacks, s. pl. mourning, 41. 2.
 Bloodied, pp. stained with blood, 119. 1; 142. 3; 222. 1.
 Bloods, s. pl. fellows, 145. 4.
 Blubbering, s. crying, weeping, 225. 3.
 Boldness, s. stoutness, 19. 1.
 Boot, s. use; *no boot*, useless, 134. 6.
 Bording, part. pres. boarding, 56. 1. The word *bord*, to approach, seems to have been confused with the phrase to leap on board.
 Bourding, s. joking, 173. 6.
 Boxed, pt. s. beat, 225. 6.
 Brake, pt. s. broke, 65. 4; pl. 61. 2.
 Bravery, s. insolence, 13. 8; audacity, 19. 5; bragging, 155. 2; boastful mood, 73. 2; 80. 5; show, 208. 4.
 Break, v. to trouble, in the phrase *Break his head*, trouble or vex his wits, 189. 1.
 Breaking, pres. pt.; *breaking of themselves*, breaking their ranks, 83. 1.
 Breathe, v. to exercise, 243. 3.
 Breviary, s. compendium, 108. 4.
 Bridle, v. to restrain, check, 300. 1.
 Brief, s. an abstract, 277. 5.
 Brook, v. to endure, 144. 4.
 Brought-in, pt. s. introduced, 246. 3.
 Burden, v. to charge, 21. 3; Burdened, pt. pl. accused, 146. 1; Burdened, pp. charged, 21. 12.
 Burthen, s. a burden, 17. 8.
 But, conj. except, 87. 5; 250. 5; 251. 4.
 By, prep. with reference to, 111. 2; 163. 2; regarding, 21. 5; of, 115. 4. *Even hard by*, quite close beside, 3. 3.
 Bynames, s. pl. nicknames, 270. 2.
 Caitiff, adj. wretched, 266. 1.
 Came about, pt. s. arrived, 20. 2.
 Can thee thank, i p. s. pr. I render thee thanks, 296. 4. Also used in the form "I con thee thanks," where *con* signifies literally to make known, and *thanks* (or *thank*) is a substantive.
 Caparison, s. trappings, 10. 4.
 Carects, s. pl. ships of burden, 213. 3. *Carect* is also spelt *carrick* or *carrack*. "Carracke, the huge ship termed a Carricke;" Cotgrave.
 Careful, adj. anxious, 6. 5; 117. 6; industrious, 217. 3.
 Carriage, s. baggage, 74. 2; 144. 3; 186. 1; 187. 7; 189. 4; 209. 1; 213. 2; burden, 214. 3; packages, 196. 4; stores, 213. 5.
 Carried, pp. persuaded, 122. 6.
 Cassiere, v. to cashier, 245. 1; 249. 3; Cas-siered, pt. s. 275. 5.
 Cassock, s. robe, 156. 2.
 Cast, v. to throw, 2. 8.
 Cast about, v. to turn round, 77. 3.
 Cast away, pp. lost, 56. 6.
 Causeys, s. pl. causeways, 252. 1.
 Centiner, s. centurion, 235. 2; Centener, 237. 2; 239. 2; 246. 2; Centeners, pl. 264. 6.
 Cercees, s. Circeii, 29. 3; Circees, 93. 5.
 Certain, s. a certain quantity, 180. 1.
 Challengeth, pr. s. claims, 301. 6; Challenged, pt. pl. claimed, 101. 9.
 Champion, adj.; *champion country*, flat and open country, 115. 1. Also spelt *cham-paign*, as by Addison.
 Changing, pres. pt. exchanging, 169. 6.
 Charge, v. to accuse, 31. 5.
 Charge, s. expense, 203. 3; *by Cassius charge*, at Cassius' expense, 131. 1; Charges, pl. duties, 251. 7; expenses, 46. 5; 296. 2.
 Charret, s. chariot, 275. 9.
 Cheap, in phr. *good cheap*, cheaply, 16. 11. Here *good cheap* is put for *at* (or *in*) *good cheap*, i. e. *at* (or *in*) a good market.
 Choler, s. bile, 194. 3.
 Chronicled, pp. recorded as, 37. 2.
 Circees, s. pl. Circeii, 93. 5; Cercees, 29. 3.
 Cithern, s. a kind of guitar, 172. 3; Citheraes, pl. 174. 6.
 Civil, adj. courteous, 20. 11.
 Clap, v. to put, 210. 5. *To clap on sails*, to put on all sail, make all sail.
 Clapping, pres. pt. beating, 221. 6.
 Clean, adj. pure, 138. 1; 219. 3. Used of gold, as in *Piers Plouman*, B. III. 22.
 Clean, adv. wholly, 214. 1.
 Climest, pr. s. 2 p. climbest, 296. 5.
 Cloke, v. to cloak, 184. 4.
 Cloke, s. a cloak, 209. 3; 304. 2.
 Closely, adv. secretly, 82. 3.
 Coat-armour, s. uniform, or ornamented coat, 83. 3. Used here of the distinctive outer dress of a general. It means properly a dress marked with the coat-of-arms of the wearer. See also 151. 5; 171. 2; 192. 4.
 Cockle, s. darnel, tares, 16. 16. Spelt *cokkel* in most MSS. of Chaucer.
 Cofferer, s. treasurer, 157. 1.
 Colour, s. pretext, excuse, 68. 4; 71. 4; 92. 5; 158. 6; 163. 4; 200. 2; disguise, 13. 4. *By colour*, under cover, 53. 3. *Honest colour*, good reason, 94. 6.
 Colour, v. to excuse, 210. 6; to disguise, 75. 4.
 Come by, v. to procure, 3. 5; 79. 7.
 Comical, adj. comic, 294. 1.
 Commodity, s. provision, 271. 10; general advantage, 6. 7.
 Compass, s. restraint, 2. 5; circuit, 159. 3.
 Complots, s. pl. plots, 271. 3.
 Composition, s. agreement, 288. 2.
 Compt, pr. s. i p. I count, 294. 5. *F. compt*, Lat. *computare*.
 Concept, s. conception, 136. 3.
 Conceitive, adj. whimsical, fanciful, 11. 5.
 Concluded, pt. pl. decided upon, 6. 1; decided, 27. 8.
 Condition, s. temper, 162. 3; disposition, 281. 5.
 Conduct, s. command, 272. 3.
 Conduction, s. guidance, 40. 7.
 Confiscate, pp. confiscated, 297. 6.
 Consider, v. to perceive, 43. 3; Considered, pp. observed, 174. 1.
 Consort, s. conspiracy, 164. 1.
 Constantly, adv. with constancy, 115. 8.

Contentation, s. moderation, 10. 7.
 Contrarily, adv. on the other hand, 80. 2; on the contrary, 49. 3; 57. 3.
 Contrary, adj. in phr. *in contrary manner*, on the contrary, 22. 3.
 Contrary, v. to oppose, 30. 5; Contraried, pt. s. opposed, 38. 5.
 Conversation, s. company, 2. 2; behaviour, 86. 3.
 Convinced, pp. convicted, 48. 4; 250. 4; 265. 1; 269. 2; 270. 5; 271. 8. *Convinced of their suits*, convicted in their suits, cast, 251. 5.
 Cop-tank, adj. conical, 202. 1. Halliwell gives—*Copatain*, a conical hat, one in the form of a sugar-loaf. The word is also spelt *copped-tanke*, *coppentante*, and *cop-pintank*; &c.
 Cormorant, adj. voracious, 126. 3.
 Countenance, s. appearance, 193. 4; favour, 198. 2; Countenances, pl. signs of rank, 257. 3.
 Courage, s. temper, 15. 10.
 Course, s.; *words of course*, formal expressions, 75. 3.
 Cousins, s. pl. relatives, 271. 7.
 Crancks, s. pl. windings, 283. 2.
 Cranewes, s. pl. crannies, 131. 7; 222. 2.
 Cressant, s. crescent, 187. 3.
 Cross, v. to thwart, 70. 1.
 Currer, s. courier, 66. 3.
 Custom, s. tribute, 247. 4.
 Customers, s. pl. taxgatherers, 247. 5.
 Cuts, s. pl. lots, 180. 2; 181. 1. *Draw cuts*, to draw lots. Some straws or slips are held in the hand; the bystanders draw one each; and the lot falls on him who draws 'the cut,' i. e. the shortest straw or slip.
 Dainty; *made it dainty to enter*, shrank back from entering, 155. 3. See *Nice*.
 Danuby, s. Danube, 262. 1.
 Declared, pt. s. shewed, 28. 1.
 Defer, v. to tarry, wait, 36. 4.
 Degrees, s. pl. steps, 193. 3.
 Demetriades, s. Demetrias, a town in Thessaly, 126. 1.
 Depart, v. to leave, 13. 10.
 Desired, pp. regretted, 271. 2.
 Desperate, adj. in despair, 216. 2.
 Despite, s. spite, 243. 4.
 Discharge, s. acquittal, 113. 7.
 Discharged, pt. s. acquitted, 113. 6.
 Discommodities, s. pl. disadvantages, 1. 2.
 Discovered, pt. pl. appeared, 210. 2. Used reflexively.
 Disliking, s. displeasure, 18. 6.
 Dislodged, pt. s. removed his camp, 38. 2.
 Divines, s. pl. soothsayers, 275. 6.
 Domestical, adj. domestic, 270. 8.
 Done, pp. exhausted, 195. 10.
 Doubt, v. to fear, 15. 4; Doubted, pt. s. feared, 267. 7.
 Drive, pt. s. drove, 56. 5; 71. 2; 77. 2; 79. 6; 219. 2; pl. 53. 7.
 Drum; *by the drum*, by public auction, 255. 3; 260. 1.

Drunk, pt. s. he drank, 232. 4.
 Ears, s. pl.; *fell together by the ears*, quarrelled, 243. 2; *by the ears*, at strife, 285. 2.
 Easlier, adv. more easily, 179. 1.
 Easing, s. eaves, 58. 4. Still in provincial use.
 Eat, pt. s. ate, 58. 3; pl. 78. 2.
 Eber, the Ebro, 254. 8.
 Effect, s. meaning, 241. 5.
 Eftsoons, adv. soon after, 88. 6; 161. 6. A. S. *eftsona*.
 Egg, v. to instigate, 198. 1; *egg him on*, incite him, 97. 4.
 Eight, ord. num. eighth, 204. 4; 255. 4.
 Either, adj. one of two, 245. 8.
 Elder, adj. older, 52. 1.
 Element, s. sky, 81. 5; 97. 6; 103. 5; 208. 9.
 Embroderie, s. embroidery, 217. 2.
 Emerod, s. emerald, 240. 5.
 Enclined, pt. pl. inclined, 249. 2.
 Encounter, s. attack, 270. 3.
 Enow, adj. pl. enough, 180. 3.
 Ensigns, s. pl. regiments, 52. 2; companies, 127. 1.
 Enter-changeably, adv. interchangeably, 60. 2.
 Enterprise, v. to undertake, 4. 2.
 Entertain, v. to maintain, 275. 10; Entertained, pt. s. maintained, 268. 8.
 Erred, pp. strayed, wandered, 238. 1.
 Estate, s. state, 250. 1; 254. 3; 269. 5; dignity, 256. 2; government, 275. 3.
 Esteem, pr. pl. regard, 4. 3.
 Evidently, adv. plainly, 270. 4.
 Evil. See *Falling*.
 Execution, s. punishment, 25. 2.
 Expecting, pres. pt. waiting for, 206. 1.
 Exquisite, adj. exact, distinct, 39. 2.
 Extremity, s. difficulty, 267. 6.
 Fact, s. deed, 13. 5; 101. 7; 102. 1; 112. 8; 119. 3; 240. 4; affair, 270. 1. *With the fact*, in the act, 261. 2.
 Fained, pt. s. feigned, 267. 1.
 Fall out, v. to take place, to happen, 12. 2; 17. 4; to turn out, 19. 2; to be come to, 16. 10. See *Fell out*.
 Falling evil, s. epilepsy, 95. 2.
 Falling sickness, s. epilepsy, 89. 3.
 Fancy, s. love, 283. 1.
 Fardle, s. bundle, 86. 2; Fardels, pl. bundles, 187. 1.
 Favour, s. countenance, look, features, 293. 1.
 Fearful, adj. dreadful, 36. 3.
 Fell out, pt. s. took place, happened, 12. 9; 14. 7; 20. 4; 27. 2; 31. 7; pl. disagreed, quarrelled, 28. 6; 59. 5. See *Fall out*.
 Felonies, s. pl. crimes, 223. 5.
 Felt, pp. perceived, 172. 1.
 Ferriting, pres. part. searching, 239. 6.
 Ferula, s. a punishing bat, 96. 1. The *ferula* was of wood, shaped like a small battledore, used by schoolmasters for inflicting pats upon the inside of the schoolboy's hand.
 Fetch, s. a device, a scheme, 81. 4; 189. 7.
 Fift, adj. fifth, 163. 1; 190. 7; 210. 7; 247. 1.

Fine, in phr. *in fine*, lastly, 55. 3.
 Finely, adv. cleverly, 240. 1; greatly, 251. 6;
 finally (?), 243. 1.
 Fire. See *On*.
 Flouting, pres. pt. befooling, 173. 3.
 Fond, adj. foolish, 178. 1; 275. 4.
 Footmen, s. pl. infantry, 81. 3.
 For, prep. as for, 44. 4; 91. 3; 195. 2; 210.
 8; because of, 24. 3; 113. 2; with regard
 to, 31. 2; as regards, 106. 3; as regarded,
 272. 1; from, (as in) *stay them for getting*,
 prevent them from getting, 190. 2; to
 prevent, 162. 4; *mistrusted for*, suspected
 of, 160. 6; *for pleasing*, if he would please
 men, 15. 8.
 For that, conj. because, 46. 2.
 Forgat, pt. s. forgot, 293. 10.
 Forgo, v. to forego, 216. 6. (The old spelling
forgo is the more correct; the prefix being
for-, not *fore-*, in this case).
 Found, pt. s. discovered, 178. 2.
 Fowls, s. pl. birds, 138. 2.
 Frame, v. to arrange, 94. 4. *Frame with*, to
 comply with, 298. 3.
 Frank, adj. free, 49. 1; 284. 1.
 Frantic, adj. foolish, 173. 5.
 Frizzled, pt. s. curled, crisped, 206. 4.
 Fumbling, adj. rambling, 98. 2.
 Funerals, s. pl. fueral, 277. 4; burial, 144.
 2; 145. 3.
 Furnished, pp. equipped, 67. 5; decked out,
 174. 3.
 Furniture, s. equipments, 10. 5; 28. 3; 137. 4;
 trappings, 67. 6.
 Gail, s. gaol, 281. 2.
 Gaped for, pt. s. watched for, 160. 4.
 Gaping, pres. pt. wondering, 16. 8.
 Garbail, s. turmoil, 73. 5; tumult, 107. 3.
 Gard, s. edging, 217. 1.
 Gate, s. journey, 216. 3.
 Gave it, pt. s. derided, 175. 9. *Gave it him*,
 derided him, reproached him. Still in
 vulgar use.
 Gave back, pt. pl. retreated, 7. 9.
 Genoveses, s. pl. Genoese, 263. 1.
 Genua, s. Genoa, 263. 3.
 Gest, s. pl. tales, 288. 3; doings, 115. 2.
 Gillots, s. pl. women; *tumbling gillots*, danc-
 ing-women, 161. 10.
 Girths, s. pl. straps, 295. 4.
 Give back, v. to retreat, 18. 1.
 Give place, v. to draw back, 95. 4.
 Given; in phr. *well given*, well inclined,
 106. 1.
 Glistering, pres. part. glittering, 67. 4; 81. 2;
 142. 8.
 Go, v.; *to go set upon*, to go and attack,
 79. 3.
 Going about, pres. pt. endeavouring, 66. 6.
 Going, s. marching, 195. 9; *upon going out*,
 ready to go out, 29. 5.
 Good cheap, adv. cheaply, 46. 4. See *Cheap*.
 Gore-belly, s. fat-paunch, 11. 4.
 Gore blood. See *All*.
 Got him, pt. s. went, 23. 3.
 Grace, s. favour, 10. 6.

Gramercy, s.; *for gramercy*, i. e. gratis, 247.
 2. Short for *grand merci*, many thanks.
 Gravelled, pp. posed, perplexed, 177. 1.
 Great with, phr. beloved by, 283. 4.
 Grieves, s. pl. griefs, 281. 6.
 Gripe, v. to seize, 237. 1.
 Gripping, s. grappling, wrestling, 2. 7.
 Gross, adj. coarse, 175. 8.
 Ground, v. to found, 12. 1.
 Grudged, pt. pl. murmured, 204. 5.
 Hackled, pp. hacked, 101. 1.
 Had, pt. s. subj. would have, 4. 10.
 Halbards, s. pl. halberds, 211. 5.
 Hale, v. to drag, 76. 2.
 Hals, s. pl. pavilions, 161. 8. Halliwell
 gives—*Hale*, a tent, or pavilion. "*Hale*
 in a felde for men, *tref*," Palsgrave. Nares
 gives an extract containing the word, but
 wrongly explains it as a horse-litter.
 Hand over head, phr. confusedly, 158. 2; in
 great haste, 141. 3.
 Hand. See *In hand*.
 Hands, s. pl.; *valiant of his hands*, bold in
 fight, 190. 8. See *Man*.
 Handy strokes, s. pl. fighting at close quar-
 ters, 197. 5.
 Hanged, pt. pl. hung, 261. 5; pp. 175. 5.
 Hap, s. fortune, 14. 4; 204. 1; *evil hap*, ill
 fortune, 22. 7.
 Happy, adj. fortunate, 53. 4; 277. 6.
 Harbrough, s. harbour, 94. 1.
 Hard, adv. close, 168. 2; *hard by*, close by,
 196. 2.
 Hardily, adv. boldly, 47. 3.
 Hardly, adv. with difficulty, 210. 3; *very*
hardly, with much difficulty, 187. 9.
 Hardness, s. hardship, 2. 6; 57. 1; endur-
 ance, 78. 5.
 Harness, s. armour, 76. 3; 142. 9; 143. 3.
 He, pron. i. e. the man, 131. 2. *He who*,
 the man who.
 Health, s. safety, 241. 6.
 Heart, s. wish, desire, inclination, 122. 3.
 Heathy, adj. covered with heath, 12. 3.
 Held, pt. s. lasted, 270. 6.
 Help, v. to heal, 152. 1; Holpen, pp. re-
 medied, 16. 7.
 Hit, v. to find, 195. 4.
 Hoise, v. to hoist, 283. 3; pt. s. Hoised,
 hoisted, 88. 4; 159. 5; 286. 1; pl. 203. 7;
 Hoising, pres. part. 212. 2.
 Hold, imp. s. take it, 109. 1.
 Holpen, pp. helped, remedied, 16. 7. See
Help.
 Honest, adj. honourable, 37. 4; 119. 5; 200.
 1; Honestest, most honourable, 40. 3.
 Honestly, adv. honourably, 296. 1.
 Honesty, s. an honour, 37. 3.
 Horse, s. horses, 88. 7; 214. 2; 250. 3; 264.
 4. The A. S. *hors* is a neuter noun, mak-
 ing *hors* in the plural, without change.
 The same is the case with *sheap*, a sheep.
 We now say *horses*, but not *sheeps*.
 Hour, s. time; *in a good hour*, in good time,
 8. 6.

House-doves, s. pl. stay-at-homes, 14. 2.
 Howboys, s. pl. hautboys, 174. 5; Howhoyes, 172. 5.
 Hugger-mugger, s. secrecy, 121. 3.
 Hurling, s. tumult, 82. 6.
 Hurlyburly, s. confusion, 19. 8; tumult, 197. 2.
 Huswives, s. pl. hussies, 161. 2.
 Iland, s. island, 44. 3; 63. 6; 169. 4.
 Ile, s. isle, 43. 4; 44. 5; 107. 2; 184. 1; 258. 4; pl. Iles, 243. 5. Very rarely, it is spelt *isle* in the original. See p. 315, l. 1.
 Ill, adj. hard, 195. 3; *very ill to come unto*, hard of access, 65. 6.
 Ill-willed, adv. against men's wills, 248. 4.
 Ill-willers, s. pl. evil-wishers, 99. 2.
 Imagery, s. sculpture, 207. 2.
 Imbark, v. to embark, 77. 1; 159. 2; Imbarked, pt. s. 159. 4; 212. 4; 238. 3.
 Imbasing, s. humiliation, 7. 2; debasing, 273. 3.
 Embrace, v. to embrace, 9. 2; 302. 1.
 Impossibleness, s. impossibility, 19. 9.
 Impostume, s. abscess, 16. 3.
 In, prep. of, 70. 4; *accuse him in*, i. e. accuse him *in*.
 In fine, adv. finally, 48. 1; 86. 5; 165. 4; 181. 2.
 In hand, close at hand, ready to treat, urgent, 166. 1.
 In manner, adv. as it were, 43. 5; 63. 2; 73. 1; apparently, 70. 6; after a sort, 202. 4; In a manner, as it were, 122. 7.
 In round, adv. around, 19. 7.
 Inhabitable, adj. habitable, 63. 7.
 Inclosed, pp. surrounded, 274. 1.
 Incontinently, adv. immediately, at once, 30. 4; 81. 1; 115. 7; 158. 4; 248. 1; &c. (Very common.)
 Indifferently, adv. equally, 192. 2; impartially, 70. 7.
 Indite, v. to indict, 51. 1.
 Inditement, s. indictment, 48. 5.
 Inexpugnable, adj. impregnable, 66. 7.
 Inforced, pt. s. forced, 258. 3.
 Infortunately, adv. unfortunately, 245. 3.
 Injuries, s. pl. reproaches, 267. 3.
 Inking, s. hint, 85. 3.
 Innocency, s. innocence, 19. 4; 40. 4.
 Inrich, v. to enrich, 64. 1.
 Insolences, s. pl. wanton acts, 261. 4.
 Instance, s. urgency, 15. 3; 183. 1.
 Instant, adj. urgent, 38. 9; 67. 3; 146. 3; imminent, 130. 1.
 Intice, v. to entice, 159. 1.
 Intituled, pp. entitled, 207. 3.
 Intreat, v. to treat, 5. 1; 126. 7; to entreat, 119. 4; Intreated, pt. s. treated, 75. 2; *ill entreated*, badly treated, 258. 1.
 Inward, adj. secret, 256. 1.
 Inwardly, adv. to heart, 286. 3.

Jar, s. strife, 53. 2.

Jeopard, v. to risk, 139. 2.

Jewry, s. Judea, 207. 4; Jurie, 216. 5; 218. 1.

Joia, v. to join battle, 255. 2.

Joining, pres. part. adjoining, 219. 1.
 Jurie, s. Jewry, Judæa, 216. 5; 218. 1. See *Jewry*.

Keep, v. to guard, 215. 3; 275. 1; Kept, pt. pl. guarded 188. 1; pp. 224. 4. *Kept the fields*, stayed in the fields, 192. 3; and see 29. 1; 14. 3.
 Kinred, s. kindred, 47. 2.

Laid at, pt. s. attacked, 8. 3; pl. *Laid on load*, toiled hard (in rowing), 77. 4.

Lane in phr. *made a lane*, forced a passage, cut out a way; see p. 8. l. 17.

Lay, pt. s. lodged, 125. 2; pl. 123. 2.

Lay up, v. to vomit, 161. 4.

Leave, v. to cease, 17. 2; 135. 7; 293. 6; to forego, 21. 1; to leave off, 274. 6. See *Left*.

Leavie, v. to levy, 250. 2; Leavied, pp. levied, 257. 2; 258. 5.

Leit, pt. s. ceased from, 75. 7; ceased, 170. 1; 207. 1. See *Leave*.

Legioners, s. pl. men of the legion, 197. 4. Lat. *legionarii*.

Leman, s. sweetheart, 200. 6. Contracted from *lief-man*, where *lief* = dear.

Length, s; *at the length*, at last, 30. 1.

Let, v. to hinder, 53. 8; 117. 1; 134. 7; 151. 1; to prevent, 189. 6; 293. 3; to hesitate, 145. 1.

Lets, s. pl. delays, 193. 5.

Libels, s. pl. clauses, 277. 1.

Lien, s. stead, 146. 2.

Lift, pt. s. lifted, 78. 8; 208. 8; 212. 5; Lift, pp. 38. 1; 150. 3; 236. 4.

Light. See *Set*.

Like, v. to satisfy, 98. 4; Liked him, pt. s. it pleased him, 7. 1; Liked, pt. pl. approved, 241. 2.

Like of v. to approve, 99. 3; Liked of, pt. pl. approved, 164. 2.

Liking, pres. pt.; in phr. *liking well of*, being pleased with, 18. 7.

Lilybee, s. Lilybæum, 243. 8.

Limmer, s. lumber, shaft, 26. 1. The Icelandic *limar* means branches of trees, of which shafts were made.

Lipare, s. Lipara, 244. 1.

Listed, pt. s. pleased, 16. 18; 190. 1; pl. 94. 3; pp. 110. 5.

Little-son, s. grandson, 271. 6.

Load. See *Laid*.

Loaden, pp. laden, 14. 1; Loden, 213. 1.

Loof, v. to luff, 212. 1.

Looked, pt. pl. expected, 146. 6.

Looked for, v. to expect, 27. 5; Looked for, pp. expected, 15. 6; 110. 2; 123. 1.

Looked to, pp. watched, 49. 4.

Look up, v. to collect, 8. 5.

Looking, pres. part. expecting, 21. 11; 61. 1; 116. 4.

Loupgarou, s. a werwolf, 296. 2. The word *garou* is a French spelling of *werwolf*, much corrupted; and, the sease being lost,

- the word *loup* was again prefixed. The *werewolf*, i. e. *manwolf*, was a man changed into a wolf by enchantment.
- Luke, s. Lucania, 124. 3; 125. 1.
- Lusty, adj. self-willed, 146. 5; Lustiest, boldest, 16. 4.
- Made, pt. s. caused, 70. 5
- Mæotides, adj. pl. : i. e. of Mæotis, 203. 7.
- Malice, v. to begrudge, 10. 8; to hate, 23. 2;
- Maliced, pp. disliked, 139. 1; pt. pl. 299. 5.
- Man of his hands, phr. a great fighter, 114. 1.
- Manner, s. custom. 3. 4. *In manner*, as it were, 61. 4; 158. 1; 272. 2 See also *In manner*.
- Manumitted, pp. manumitted, freed, 238. 4.
- Marches, s. pl. borders; *upon those marches*, in those borders, 125. 3.
- Marish, s. a. marsh. 142. 2; 146. 7; Marrish, 56. 4; 140. 1; Marishes, pl. 93. 7; 108. 2; 155. 4; Marrishes, 65. 7; 127. 2.
- Martyr, v. to torture, 25. 3; Martyred, pp. injured, 224. 5. The O. Fr. *martyr* sometimes means *to torment*.
- Maske, s. a masque, entertainment, 301. 8.
- Master, s. captain, skipper, 284. 5.
- Masteries, s. pl.; in phr. *try masteries*, i. e. contend, 2. 9.
- Masterless, adj. unruly, 268. 5.
- Mates, s. pl. comrades, 145. 2.
- Matter, s. purulent discharge, 16. 2.
- Maze, s. perplexity, 59. 9; 148. 1.
- Mean, s. means, way, 13. 3; 28. 4; 31. 4; 86. 1; 92. 1; 179. 4; 280. 2.
- Mean, adj. low, 21. 10.
- Meaning, pres. pt. intending, 86. 7.
- Meaning by, pres. pt. referring to, 163. 2.
- Mechanical, adj. mechanic, 113. 3.
- Meet, adj. fitting; *that were meet*, whatever is fitting 2. 1.
- Merely, adv. wholly, completely, 301. 9.
- Middest, s. midst, 88. 2; 101. 6; 119. 2; 135. 5; &c. (Very common).
- Mids, s. midst, 122. 1.
- Mislike, v. to dislike, 192. 6; 198. 3; to displease, 218. 3; pres. pl. dislike, 167. 1; 173. 7; 2 p. (ye) disapprove, 99. 4; Misliked, pt. s. displeased, 135. 6; pt. pl. disliked, 177. 5; displeased, 184. 2; were displeased with, 38. 3.
- Mistrust, v. to suspect, 142. 11; Mistrusted, pt. s. suspected, 160. 5; 225. 2; *nothing mistrusted*, in no way suspected, 174. 2; pt. pl. *nothing at all mistrusted*, nowise suspected, 62. 3; pp. Mistrusted, suspected, 89. 1; Mistrusting, pres. pt. suspecting, 227. 4.
- Mo adj. more, 96. 2; 135. 2; 190. 9; 194. 4. See *Moe*.
- Modesty, s. moderation, 18. 5.
- Moe, adv. more, 144. 5. See *Mo*.
- More, adj. majority of, 17. 5; greater, 34. 3; adv. afterwards, 271. 9.
- Most, sup. adj. greatest, 50. 2; 225. 4.
- Mountainers, s. pl. mountaineers, 254. 6.
- Much, adj. great, 16. 6.
- Murrians, s. pl. moriuns, head-pieces, 195. 7.
- Murther, s. murder, 100. 1; 103. 8; 120. 1; &c.
- Murthered, pt. pl. murdered, 102. 9
- Murtherer, s. murderer, 103. 1; 108. 1; Murtherers, pl. 103. 3; 165. 2; 236. 3.
- Mutine, v. to mutiny, 20. 9; 131. 5; Mutined, pp. mutinied, 296. 8.
- Mutining, s. mutinying, 40. 9.
- Myriads, s. pl. sums of 10,000 drachmæ, 49. 2; 85. 5.
- Naked, adj. unarmed, 193. 2; 220. 4. See *Othello*, v. 2. 258.
- Naughty, adj. wicked, evil, 16. 15; 151. 2; 161. 1.
- Naughty-natured, adj. ill-natured, 281. 4.
- Nearest, adj. next, 268. 1. See *Next*.
- Next, adj. nearest, 131. 8; 142. 1.
- Nice, adj.; *snake it nice*, to seem reluctant, 177. 3. See *Dainty*.
- Night, s.; *within night*, after nightfall, 213. 7.
- Nothing, adv. in no way, 59. 8; 94. 5; 232. 3; not at all, 7. 1.
- Nothing the more, adv. none the more, 33. 1.
- Object, v. to impute, 268. 2; Objecteth, pres. s. presents, 34. 1.
- Occasion, s. cause 27. 3; reason, 269. 4; accident, 141. 4; opportunity, 20. 8; 31. 9; 71. 3; 245. 7; &c. Occasions, pl. reasons, 92. 3; causes of dislike, 95. 3.
- Occupy, v. to employ, 57. 5; pres. pl. use, 115. 5.
- Of, prep. from, 31. 6; 37. 5; 64. 2; by, 41. 1; 85. 2; 101. 2; 110. 4; 141. 5, &c.; about, 51. 2; with, 29. 2; 101. 5; 195. 5; concerning, 262. 4; over, 36. 5; 266. 3; 275. 8; upon; in phrases *To live of*, to live upon, 1. 4. 1; *Had an eye of*, had an eye upon, 49. 5; *In revenge of*, for revenge upon, 12. 5; for; in phrase *Of ten days*, for ten days, 137. 3; against; in phr. *Cried out of*, cried out against, 262. 3; in; *the thing of*, the chief thing in, 15. 7. Of = some of, 9. 7; 74. 4; 78. 4.
- Of purpose, i. e. on purpose, 82. 5; 116. 3; 135. 1.
- Offer, v. to attempt, 8. 1; Offered, pt. pl. attempted, 134. 5.
- Omnipotency, s. omnipotence, 39. 3.
- On. *Take on fire*, to take fire, 131. 9; *set fire on*, to set fire to, 58. 5; 132. 2.
- One, the, i. e. the first, 277. 2; first of all, 55. 1.
- Only, adj. sole, 37. 1; 176. 1; mere, 114. 2; *the only heads*, the heads alone, 16. 20.
- Only, adv. alone, 6. 3; 6. 8; 14. 8; *only with*, with only, 14. 6.
- Opinion, s. self-opinion, 15. 5.
- Order, s.; *take such order*, i. e. so decide, 48. 6; *taking order for*, arranging, 128. 5. See *Take order*.
- Order, v. to arrange, 50. 1.
- Ordinance, s. ordering, 94. 2.
- Orient, s. East, 262. 6; 268. 6.

Other, adj. : *the one the other*, each other, 258. 2 ; Other, pl. others (very common), 4. 6 ; 80. 1 ; 102. 5 ; 118. 1 ; &c.
 Otherwise, adv. else, 88. 5.
 Ought, pt. pl. owed, 40. 6 ; 264. 3.
 Out, adv. at variance, 110. 3. *Come out*, come to an end, 93. 3.
 Outhrave, v. to insult, 245. 2.
 Overflow, pp. overflowed, 65. 8.
 Overhand, adv. upside down, 295. 7.
 Over-harried, pp. much harassed, 148. 4.
 Overlop, s. orlop (a nautical term), 295. 3.
Orlop, the modern form, is a contraction of *overlop*, a word directly borrowed from the Dutch *overloep*, which signifies the planking of a deck, and is perhaps derived from *overloopen*, lit. to run over or run across, from *loopen*, to run. From the same Dutch verb are derived *elope* (Dutch *entloopen*, to escape or run away from), and *interloper*, lit. one who runs between. The corresponding English verb is *leap*, which in old authors, means to run as well as to jump.
 Overthrow, pp. taken down, 81. 7.
 Pain, s. effort ; *the pain he had taken*, the effort he had made, 9. 8.
 Painful, adj. toilsome, 24. 4 ; laborious, engaged in hard work, 298. 4.
 Painfully, adv. laboriously, 6. 4.
 Particularly, adv. separately, 301. 2.
 Parts, s. pl. disposition, 87. 6.
 Party, s. side ; *on either party*, on both sides, 3. 2.
 Pass, s. ; *to so good pass*, to such a success, 116. 1.
 Pass, v. to surpass, 4. 5 ; 7. 3 ; 175. 6 ;
 Passing, pres. part. causing to pass, 63. 4.
 Pass for, v. to care for, 248. 3 ; pt. s. Passed for, cared for, 43. 6 ; professed, 16. 19. *To pass for obedience*, to care to shew obedience.
 Passed of, pt. s. cared for, 70. 2. (The marginal explanation is wrong).
 Passing, adj. surpassing, 48. 7 ; 174. 4.
 Passing, adv. surpassingly, 175. 1. 4.
 Passingly, adv. exceedingly, 10. 9 ; 78. 1 ; 189. 5.
 Passioned, adj. passionate, 16. 1.
 Patiently, adv. *so patiently*, with so small a degree of patience, 254. 5. Such is the sense required ; a better reading would be *so impatiently* ; there is probably a misprint here in the original.
 Paynim, adj. pagan, 269. 3.
 Perfit, adj. perfect, 95. 1.
 Perouse, s. Perusia, 242. 3.
 Pestered, pp. crowded, 175. 2.
 Phar, s. Pharos, lighthouse, 86. 6.
 Philippes, Philippi, 125. 6 ; 136. 1 ; 151. 4 ; 214. 5.
 Philippians, pl. adj. ; *fields Philippians*, Philippian fields, fields of Philippi, 241. 7.
 Piemont, s. Piedmont, 263. 2.
 Pilled, pt. s. robbed, 135. 9. *Neither pilled nor polled*, neither robbed nor overtaxed.

Pioners, s. pl. pioneers, 150. 1.
 Place, s. ; in phr. *would give no place*, would not yield, 9. 5 ; *gave no place*, yielded not, 58. 6.
 Places, s. pl. passages (in a document), 205. 2.
 Pleasure, v. to serve, to be of advantage to, 24. 9.
 Plied his book, i. e. studied, 231. 1.
 Plummetts, s. pl. bullets, 190. 3.
 Policy, s. cheating, 170. 2.
 Poll, s. head, 16. 12 ; 21. 8.
 Polled, pt. s. taxed, spoiled, 135. 10 ; Polled, pp. plundered, 110. 1. See *Pilled*.
 Portsale, s. sale of attendance and service, 124. 2. See *Halliwell*.
 Post, s. a letter-carrier, 66. 2.
 Post, pp. posted, 175. 3.
 Power, s. army, 5. 2 ; 60. 6.
 Powne, v. to pound, 254. 1.
 Practice, s. contrivance, 69. 2 ; plot, 297. 2 ;
 Practices, pl. plots, 99. 5 ; 157. 2 ; 259. 2.
 Practise, v. to contrive, 60. 1 ; Practised, pt. s. conspired, 97. 1 ; plotted, 127. 3 ; 242. 2 ; pp. plotted, 12. 6 ; 65. 5 ; 268. 7.
 Prease, s. press, throng, 91. 1 ; 122. 4.
 Prefer, v. to propose, 302. 6 ; Preferred, pt. s. proposed, 160. 3 ; 165. 3.
 Preheminence, s. preeminence, 41. 3.
 Present, adj. immediate, 27. 6.
 Presently, adv. at once, 7. 9 ; 20. 6 ; 24. 1 ; &c. ; forthwith, immediately, 104. 1 ; 151. 3 ; &c. ; soon, 68. 3 ; 87. 1 ; thereupon, 136. 2. (Very common.)
 Rest, v. to press, to impress, 13. 9 ; 208. 2.
 Pretence, s. intention, 40. 8 ; 293. 8.
 Bretended, pt. pl. plotted, intended, 97. 5.
 Prettily, adv. fairly, tolerably, 299. 7.
 Pretty, adj. minute, small, 228. 2.
 Prevent, v. to anticipate, 126. 2 ; pt. s. anticipated, 129. 1 ; pl. 252. 2 ; Preventing, pres. part. anticipating, 78. 9 ; 98. 1.
 Price, s. prize, 10. 3 ; Prise, 294. 3.
 Prick, v. to spur, 97. 3 ; Pricked, pp. spurred, 24. 5.
 Pricked out, pt. pl. marked down, 13. 1.
 Prise, s. prize, 294. 3. See *Price*.
 Process, s. an action-at-law, 269. 1 ; 274. 4.
 Procured, pp. caused, 242. 1 ; brought about, 12. 7 ; 13. 7 ; persuaded, 18. 9.
 Procurement, s. plotting, 271. 1.
 Procurer, s. author, beginner, 179. 2 ; instigator, 186. 2 ; pl. Procurers, promoters, 6. 9.
 Procuring, pres. pt. persuading, 87. 3.
 Properly, adv. well, 107. 1.
 Prorogue, v. to prolong, 69. 1.
 Prove, v. to try, 24. 8 ; to test, 217. 4 ; Prov-ed, pt. s. tried, 150. 4.
 Psalterions, s. pl. psalteries, 172. 4. Greek *ψαλτήριον*, a stringed instrument.
 Purchase, v. to procure, 40. 5.
 Purgation, s. defence, 40. 2.
 Purge, v. make clear, 19. 3 ; Purging, pres. part. clearing, 18. 4.
 Puissant, adj. powerful, 88. 1 ; 185. 2 ; 191. 7.
 Purposedly, adv. purposely, 101. 4.
 Quail, v. to fail, 45. 3.

Queasy-stomached, adj. sick, 161. 3.
Quit, v. to acquit, 51. 3; 182. 1.

Rakehels, s. pl. turbulent men, 120. 3. A singular corruption. The form in Chaucer is *rakel*, meaning rash, hasty.

Ramped, pt. s. jumped, 162. 5.
Rampiers, s. pl. ramparts, 65. 1; 83. 2; 132. 1.
Ran on head, pt. s. ran ahead, rushed forward, 17. 6.

Ran one fortune, took the same risk, 255. 1.
Rang it out, pt. pl. cried aloud, 17. 3.
Rap and rend, phr. obtain by any means, 130. 3.

Rather, adv. more, 64. 5.
Ray, s. array, 8. 7; 82. 1; 89. 2; 144. 6; 147. 2; 187. 5; 210. 9.

Read, pres. s. 1 p. I advise, 117. 3.
Reason, s.; *it is no reason*, it is useless, 123. 3. *Had reason*, was right, 14. 9. Used as adj. reasonable, 5. 3.

Recommend, v. to shield, protect, 266. 2; Recommended, pt. s. committed, 181. 3.
Recorder, s. a sort of flageolet, 292. 3. See *Hamlet*, iii. 2. 360.

Referred, pt. s. put off, 201. 2.
Regard, v. to respect, 273. 1.
Regard-taking, s. regarding, 282. 1.
Regrators, s. pl. retail dealers, 261. 3.

Rejoice, v. to delight, 4. 11.
Remove, s. removal, 32. 3.
Require, v. to ask for, be a candidate for, 1. 1; to ask for, 62. 2; 130. 3; to request, 251. 8; Required, pt. s. demanded, 40. 1; asked, 249. 1.

Reward, s. rear-guard, 82. 4; 190. 5; 195. 8; 197. 3.
Resolution, s. resoluteness, 260. 2; decision, 16. 9.

Resolve, v. to decide, 21. 2; 23. 1.
Respect, s. consideration, 4. 7; sake, 199. 3.
Rest, in phr. *to set up his whole rest*, to rely entirely, 3. 1.

Retrait, s. retreat, 196. 3.
Revoke, v. to recal, 271. 5.
Rhein, the Rhine, 253. 1; Rheyn, 59. 2; 62. 1.

Ripe, v. to ripen, 103. 7.
Rise, v. to rebel, 92. 4.
Room, s. place, 47. 4; *in their room*, in place of them, 65. 3.

Round, adj. outspoken, 80. 3; plain-spoken, 267. 4.
Rounded, pt. s. whispered, 117. 2.
Roundly, adv. speedily, 75. 6; greatly, 173. 1.

Ruff, s. height (of excitement), 47. 1.
Rule the roast, phr. to have the chief power, to be sole master, 295. 8.
Rushing, s. clashing, 143. 2.

Sack, v. to plunder, 239. 7; Sacked, pt. pl. plundered, 241. 3.
Sallet, s. a helmet, 150. 2; Sallets, pl. helmets, 195. 6.
Sallet oil, s. salad oil, 58. 2.

Salve, v. to heal, 220. 1.
Saragousse, Saragossa, 254. 7.
Scant, adv. scarcely, 43. 2; 59. 1; 108. 2; 137. 2; 208. 3; 228. 3; 293. 2.

Scantly, adv. scarcely, 302. 4.
Scaped, pp. escaped, 109. 4.
Scutcheon, s. an escutcheon, shield with a device, 295. 5; Skutchines, pl. 301. 4.

See, v.; *to see to*, to behold, 63. 3.
Seeling, s. ceiling, 238. 2.
Seen, pp.; *well seen in*, well versed in, 115. 3.

Segniory, s. mastery, 302. 3.
Seissed, pp. assessed, 204. 3.
Self, pron. himself, 54. 4; 61. 3; 66. 5; adj. same, 93. 1; 158. 7; 227. 1; 279. 1.

Sent, s. scent, 239. 5. The old spelling is the better, as the word is from Lat. *sentire*.
Sentence, s. proverb, 133. 3.

Sententious, adj. judicious, 277. 7.
Served his turn with, i.e. employed, 275. 2.
Set in, pp. mentioned, included, 225. 5.
Set light by, pt. s. despised, 68. 1.

Set out, v.; in phr. *set out feet*, to advance, 15. 2.
Set to, v. to affix, 116. 2. Compare "*hath set to his seal*," i.e. affixed his seal, attested; John iii. 33.

Set up, v. to publish, 236. 1. *Set up his rest*, to make a stand, 219. 4.
Set upon, v. to attack; *go set upon*, to go and attack, 79. 3.

Setting forth, s. decoration, 98. 3.
Several, adj. different, 7. 4.
Sew, v. to drain, 93. 6. Hence the word *sewer*.

Sharp, s.; *at the sharp*, with sharp weapons, 90. 2; 257. 4; 275. 7.
Shifted him, pt. s. changed his apparel, 83. 4.
Shined, pt. s. shone, 103. 6.

Shipwracks, s. pl. shipwrecks, 160. 1.
Shoot, s. shot, 187. 6.
Should, pt. pl. would, 5. 4; were to, 99. 1.

Sight, s.; *in sight*, i.e. it was evident, 45. 4.
Signiory, s. dominion, 248. 2. See *Segniory*.

Sith, conj. since, 59. 4; 68. 2; 70. 3, &c. (Common).
Sithence, prep. since, 111. 1; conj. since, 17. 1; 226. 2.

Six, adj. sixth, 247. 6; 262. 5; 263. 4.
Skails, s. pl. the name of a game much resembling nine-pins, 292. 1. In the form *squails*, the word is still in use, though applied to a different game. It was also spelt *keyles* or *kayles*; where *kayle* is the same as the Fr. *quille* and the Ger. *kegel*.

Cotgrave has—"Quille, f. the keel of a ship; also, a *keyle*, a big peg, or pin of wood, used at ninepins or *keyles*."

Skreeked, pt. s. shrieked, 223. 2.
Skutchines. See *Scutcheon*.
Slacked, pt. s. grew slack, 303. 3.

Slents, s. pl. sly hits, 175. 7. Halliwell gives—"Slent, a jest, sarcasm." Also the verb '*Slent*, to glide.' It clearly means 'that which glances off.'

Smallage, s. wild celery, 254. 2.

- Snew, pt. s. snowed, 199. 1; Snowen, pp. snowed, 126. 5.
- So, conj. provided that, 112. 5; so that, 20. 12.
- Soliciter, s. steward, 262. 2.
- Sop, s. a winebibber, 109. 2.
- Sophisters, s. pl. sophists, 224. 1.
- Sorry, adj. sad, 66. 4.
- Sort, s. people; *mean sort*, common people, 102. 7.
- Speed thee, imp. s. have success, 24. 7.
- Sperage, s. asparagus, 58. 1; 279. 2.
- Spials, s. pl. spies, 276. 1. See Nares.
- Spited, pt. pl. were envious, 14. 5.
- Splitting, pp. split, 160. 2.
- Springall, s. a youngster, stripling, 128. 1.
- Stabbed (him) in, i. e. wounded him mortally, 237. 5.
- Stand to, v. to support, 20. 7.
- Stark, adj. strong, great, 158. 5.
- Stay, s.; in phr. *at a stay*, in order, 61. 5.
- Stay, v. to halt, 7. 7; 78. 7; to stop, 8. 2; Stayed, pt. s. halted, 72. 2; pp. delayed, 245. 6; prevented, 121. 2.
- Stickler, s. umpire, 181. 5. To *stickle* is to part combatants, or to preside as umpire. "I *stycckyll* betwene wrastellers or any folkes that prove mastries, to se that oone do other wronge, or I parte folkes that be redy to fyght."—Palsgrave. See also Trench's Select Glossary.
- Still, adv. continually, 14. 10; 27. 1; 57. 4, &c.; constantly, 117. 8; frequently, 200. 5; ever, 138. 3; always, 4. 8.
- Stinted, pt. s. ceased, 221. 3.
- Stomached, pt. s. resented, 17. 7.
- Stood with, pt. pl. upheld, 158. 3.
- Stood them upon, pt. s. it concerned them, 18. 3; it behoved them, 30. 6; 112. 6; 245. 8. (Occurs in Shakespeare.)
- Straight, s. strait, 30. 3; 199. 2; 241. 1; isthmus, 93. 4; Straights, pl. straits, 137. 1; passes, 130. 4. The old spelling *straight* is here incorrect. See *Streight*.
- Straight, adj. strait, strict, 135. 8; 264. 2; Straighter, straiter, stricter, 179. 3; 267. 5. The old spelling *straight* is incorrect for this sense of the word, which comes from Lat. *strictus*.
- Straight, adv. straightway, 4. 1; at once, 99. 7; 102. 8.
- Straighted, pt. s. straitened, 79. 1. A better spelling would be *straited*.
- Straitly, adv. strictly, 49. 4; 223. 4; closely, 264. 5. See *Straight*, adj.
- Strained, pt. s. endeavoured, 4. 4.
- Strake, pt. s. struck, 78. 10; 100. 3; 103. 4; 237. 3; pl. 224. 2.
- Strange, adj. at enmity, 113. 1. *Made it very strange*, took offence, 162. 1.
- Streight, s. straits, channel, 211. 3; an isthmus, 215. 1; Streights, pl. straits, passes, 253. 2. See *Straight*.
- Strength, s. a fort, 58. 7.
- Stuck, pt. s. continued, 79. 8.
- Suaged, pp. assuaged, 20. 5.
- Success, s. result, 203. 2.
- Suchie, adj. pl. such, 135. 3.
- Sure, adj. affianced, 54. 3.
- Sure, adv. evidently, 22. 5.
- Sutes, s. pl. suits, 261. 1.
- Sware, pt. s. swore, 247. 3.
- Swounded, pt. s. swooned, 117. 9.
- Table, s. a tablet, letter, 227. 3; a picture, 124. 4; Tables, pl. writing-tablets, 205. 4.
- Take thought, v. to be anxious, 73. 3.
- Take order, to arrange, decide, 48. 6. So in the Ballad of George Barnwell, ll. 325—328, in Ritson's Ancient Songs, l. 170, we have:—
'And once he thought to take
His father by the way,
But that he thought his master had
Took order for his stay.'
See *Took order*.
- Take up, v. to rebuke, 16. 13.
- Taken, pp. held, considered to be, 20. 10.
- Taking, s. fit of anger, 22. 8; state of mind, 115. 1.
- Tallages, s. pl. imposts, 171. 3.
- Tane, pp. taken, 33. 2.
- Target, s. a shield, 54. 1; 56. 2; Targets, pl. shields, 8. 8; 142. 10; 301. 5.
- Tell, v. to count, 22. 1.
- Temper, v. to allay, 22. 6.
- Temperancy, s. moderation, 2. 4.
- Testament, s. will, 102. 3; 205. 1.
- Testimony, s. witness, 10. 2.
- That, pron. what, that which, 19. 6.
- Them, pron. themselves, 6. 2.
- Then, conj. than, 73. 4. See notes to p. 7, l. 8, and p. 103, l. 3.
- Therefore, adv. on that account, 4. 12.
- Thereupon, adv. on that account, 21. 4.
- Therewith, adv. thereupon, 62. 4.
- Thinking, pres. pt. expecting, 74. 3.
- Thorough, prep. through, 30. 2.
- Thought, pt. pl. intended, 59. 3; expected, 193. 1.
- Thoroughly, adv. thoroughly, 6. 6; 38. 8; 122. 2; 175. 10.
- Tickle, adj. unstable, 64. 4; uncertain, 146. 4.
- Time; hence, *with time*, in course of time, 233. 1; *of long time*, for a long time, 11. 7.
- Tipstaves, pt. s. maces, 181. 4. Also called *tipped staves*, i. e. staves with a metal tip.
- To, prep. as to, 162. 2; for, 184. 3.
- To say, phr. that is, 52. 4; 211. 2.
- To wit, adv. namely, 145. 5; 154. 3; 169. 3; 251. 1; that is to say, 168. 4.
- Tolerate, v. to moderate, 271. 4.
- Took, pt. s. entered, 168. 3. *Took the river*, took to the river, entered it.
- Took on, pt. pl. were angry, 76. 5.
- Took order, pt. s. arranged, 52. 3; 246. 1. See *Take order*.
- Toy, s. a whim, 134. 8. So used in the Two Noble Kinsmen, ed. Skeat, Act V. Sc. 4. l. 66.
- Tract, s. length, 28. 2; 79. 4. Used of *time*.
- Trained, pt. s. lured, 154. 2.
- Trases, s. pl. traces, 161. 9.
- Travell, s. travail, 169. 2; Travails, pl. la-

bours, 2. 3. The words *travel* and *travail* were originally identical.

Treason, s. surrender, 31. 8. The true old meaning, from Lat. *traditionem*.

Treen, adj. wooden, 85. 4. The old sense. Spenser uses it.

Triumvirate, s. triumvir, 202. 3. The word is misused. Our author should have said *triumvir*.

Trised up, pt. s. drew up, 221. 5; pp. drawn up, 223. 1.

Troth, s. truth, 201. 4; 228. 1; 281. 1; 284. 3. *Troth* and *truth* were originally the same word.

Troup, s. a troop, 34. 2; 35. 2; 60. 7; Troupe, 120. 2; 149. 1; Troups, pl. troops, 235. 1; 254. 4; Troupes, 141. 1; 244. 4.

Truss, v. to pack, 189. 3; Trussed, pt. pl. packed, 187. 8; pp. packed, 187. 2; wound, 221. 4. *Trussed him up*, hung him, 224. 3.

Tuition, s. tutelary power, protection, 13. 6.

Turmoiled, pp. agitated, 22. 9.

Turmoiling, pres. pt. troubling, 172. 2.

Two; in phr. *two things*, different things, 75. 5.

Unconstant, adj. inconstant, 122. 5.

Undecent, adj. unbecoming, 54. 2.

Understand, v. to observe, 203. 1; Understood, pt. s. learnt, ascertained, 208. 7; 286. 4; pl. 222. 3.

Unfoiled, adj. unsullied, 15. 1. It is a quite different word from *unsoiled*; and *not* due to confusion between *f* and long *s*.

Unhappily, adv. unluckily, 52. 5.

Unhonest, adj. dishonourable, 232. 2.

Unmeasurable, adj. immeasurable, 241. 4.

Unpatiently, adv. impatiently, 270. 7.

Impossible, adj. impossible, 33. 3; 39. 1; 144. 1; 201. 1; 234. 1.

Unprovided, adv. unexpectedly, 185. 1.

Unrebatd, adj. unblunted, 11. 8.

Unsatiab, adj. insatiable, 126. 4.

Upon, prep. after, in consequence of, 17. 4; on the point of, 29. 5; above, over, 156. 3. And see *Stood*.

Use, pres. pl. are wont, 11. 6; 71. 1; 216. 1; 1 p. we are used, 213. 4; Used, pp. accustomed, 16. 5.

Vacabond, s. a vagabond, wanderer, 300. 6.

Valiancy, s. valour, 35. 1; 38. 6.

Vaward. See *Voward*.

Venter, v. to venture, 168. 1.

Very, adj. true, 223. 6.

Vizard, s. a mask, visor, 299. 2.

Voice, s. vote, 259. 3; rumour, 128. 3; 304. 1; Voices, pl. votes, 251. 3.

Void, adj. vacant, 43. 1.

Vouching, pres. part. citing, 53. 1.

Voward, s. vanguard, 142. 4; 147. 3; 187. 4; 191. 1; 196. 1; 197. 6; (also spelt) Vaward, 9. 3. The forms *vaward*, *voward*,

vanguard, are all from the French *avant-garde*.

Wan, pt. s. won, 4. 9; 56. 3; 60. 3; &c. Very common; and the true form of the past tense.

Wanting, pres. pt. lacking, 75. 1.

Ward, s. defence; *hardness of ward*, sturdiness of defence, 2. 10.

Warded, pt. pl. watched, kept guard, 227. 2; guarded, 78. 3.

Ware, adj. aware, 191. 4.

Ware, pt. s. wore, 295. 2.

Warlikest, adj. most warlike, 9. 4; 60. 5.

Watermen, sb. pl. sailors, 208. 1.

Waving, pres. pt. wavering, inclining, 72. 3.

Waying, pres. pt. weighing, 302. 2.

Weight, s. importance, 194. 2.

Well-favouredly, adv. soundly, i.e. very much, 225. 7; (used of beating), 218. 2; considerably, 194. 5.

Went about, pt. s. endeavoured, 21. 9; 106. 2; 124. 1; pl. 147. 1; 215. 2; proposed, 16. 14. See *Going about*.

What, conj. why, 215. 5.

When as, conj. when that, when, 230. 1.

Where, conj. since, 59. 6; whereas, 46. 1; 130. 2; 133. 1; 206. 3; 293. 4.

Wherethrough, whereby, 146. 8.

Whereupon, conj. wherefore, 20. 3.

While, s.; *in this while*, meanwhile, 29. 8.

Will, s. desire, wish, 268. 3. *By his will*, with his consent, 29. 6.

Will, v. to desire, 191. 2; 208. 6; 296. 7; pr. s. wishes to, 15. 9; pr. pl. require, 20. 1; Willed, pt. s. desired, 10. 1; pl. required, 31. 3; Willing, pres. part. desiring, 200. 3.

Willing, adj. consenting, 236. 5. *Illwilling*, unwilling, 29. 4.

Wind, s. breath, 197. 1.

Wirts, s. pl. blows, cuffs, 112. 1.

With, prep. for, 79. 2. *Straighted with*, straitened for.

Withal, with, 50. 4.

Without, adv. from without, from outside, 66. 8; outside, 67. 1.

Without, prep. outside, 134. 3.

Wonderful, adv. wonderfully, 63. 5.

Words of course, s. pl. formal expressions, 75. 3.

Worthy, adj. deserving, 11. 3.

Would, pt. s. wished, 16. 17; desired, 169. 5; pl. desired, 18. 8; resolved, 21. 6. *Would together*, would come together, would engage in combat, 18. 2. *What they had would*, whatever they wished to do, 135. 11.

Wrecked, pp. wreaked, 24. 6.

Yarage, s. management, 208. 5; 211. 4. From the adj. *yare*, nimble, active. Shakespeare has *yarely*, Tempest, i. 1.

Yet, adv. nevertheless, 32. 1.

Ygot, pp. got, won, 294. 4. The prefix *y-* is due to the A. S. *ge-*.

